CHRISTIAN MISSIONS
AND
ORIENTAL CIVILIZATIONS

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CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

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ORIENTAL CIVILIZATIONS

A Study in Culture Contact

The Reactions of Non-Christian Peoples to Protestant Missions from the Standpoint of Individual and Group Behavior: Outline, Materials, Problems, and Tentative Interpretations

BY

MAURICE T. PRICE, PH.D.

with a

Foreword

BY

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What Mr. Price has written may, perhaps, be described as a natural history of missionary propaganda. This means that it is in no sense an attempt to criticize or appraise the value of missionary activity itself but rather to describe it disinterestedly, as a form of human behavior.

From such a study we can hope for two things: (1) a more adequate conception of the role that missionary activity has played and is destined to play in international affairs, and, (2) a more intelligent conception of the technique which it has employed and can employ in carrying out its purposes.

While this volume is a description rather than an appreciation of missionary methods, it should, in the end, lay a basis for an understanding and intelligent criticism, not only by the churchman, whose conscious missionary activity is likely to be in terms of the expansion of his particular school of religious thought, but by the layman, who is not interested in the expansion of any particular religious sect or religion but is bound to be profoundly interested in the effect of this expansion upon economic and political relations of nations and peoples.

What the missionary activity inevitably does accomplish, whether it expressly wills to do so or not, is to bring the world measurably within the limits of a single moral universe. It tends, in other words, to create a world, in which every individual has the status of a person, with mutual rights and obligations.

The assumption has been, in many places, that world peace was based: (1) upon economic interdependence, so that when we once realized the inevitable economic cost of war, war would cease to exist; (2) that world peace could be established by contract and treaty, and that all that was necessary to world peace was a code of international law and a court to enforce it.

But neither economic interdependence nor international law are likely to establish and maintain peace except so far as they have back of them a common understanding, which rests upon a common culture and a common body of fundamental beliefs. It is this task of hastening the attainment of a common

culture in which races and peoples may share, that constitutes the real mission of Christian missions.

Christianity grew up in a world which in many respects is like our own. The Roman Empire, bringing as it did all the peoples and cultures of the world together, created a melting pot of languages and cultures not unlike that created by the expansion of Europe since the end of the fifteenth century. The whole world is now in a state of flux and the business of foreign missions, and of other cultural agencies in this field, is to bring those people who are already in physical contact with one another, into the more intimate personal and cultural association,—not, to be sure, of a single sect, but at any rate of a single world* religion.

Under these circumstances the intimate but impersonal study which the author of this volume has made, through the medium of its literature and from personal observation in the field, assumes a new importance. From the point of view here suggested, foreign missions, even for the layman, assume an importance equal to that of foreign trade or foreign politics.

The thing that is unique about this volume is its point of view. It regards the missionary enterprise as a natural phenomenon and, for the first time so far as I know, seeks to describe it disinterestedly in terms of a natural process—a social psychological process, to be exact.

This study was begun some eight years ago when the author was a student in the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago. The work was carried on during a residence of several years in Shanghai, China, where, as editor and educational advisor, he had exceptional opportunity to observe at first hand the effects of Western civilization upon the East, especially in relation to missions. The present volume, I might add, is the first of several others for which materials have already been completed and which, it is sincerely to be hoped, may soon follow the present publication.

ROBERT E. PARK

University of Chicago
June 1, 1924.

*On account of Dr. Park's general point of view, the author assumes that he means a "world religion" in which there will be contributions of constituent elements by both Eastern and Western civilizations.—AUTHOR.

PREFACE

The propaganda of Western Churches in the Pacific Islands, Africa, and Asia, has been shot through with adventure and tragedy—and comedy!—that carry far more than incidental significance. It is well known that Western traders and military have met recoil and counter-attack in these parts of the world, as well as a more friendly reception. It is not so much appreciated that Western promoters of church, school, and hospital have stirred individuals and families, classes and castes, tribes and nations. The tragedy of the national who tears himself out of his family circle, a traitor, and joins the alien church, a martyr, or the opportunism of the son of the soil who attaches himself to the comparatively wealthy alien church group — these are symptomatic of changes which characterize whole cultures and civilizations, following in the wake of missionary contacts. And until such dramatic and commonplace occurrences in the missionary enterprise are vividly portrayed in relation to individual life-needs, to numerous group reactions, and to contemporaneous cultural changes, judgments regarding "foreign missions" will be utterly unsatisfactory.

At present, one is prepared to meet differing judgments regarding an international influence like missions. The observant man knows that the institutions of society are to some extent misused by those within them and misunderstood by those without. The estimates of propaganda by the Western churches, however, are so various that we hear of typical sets of opinion held by globe trotters, by Occidental business men isolated in Oriental port towns, by Western politicians, by hard-headed imperialistic conservatives, by idealistic social radicals, and by the ardent supporters of missions. Or, among nationals of non-Christian countries, we hear of typical sets of opinion held by conservative Orientals or Africans who know the grip of ancient customs, by the younger generation of Western educated students, and by the poor and the needy among the rank and file of Asia. To the student of human behavior and social tendencies, the dis-

parity among these opinions is itself significant. He assumes that an institution that is carried over from one branch of the human race to another by a continuous force of approximately thirty thousand emissaries and professedly for the good of the other branch of the race, will evoke diversity of opinion, and feels that it calls for an investigation into at least the consequences of the transfer. He regards such investigation particularly important in the present state of international feelings, now so unstable and supersensitive in some quarters. The cautious sociologist, it should be added, in contrast to those who are more positive in the matter, does not expect conclusive studies in such a complicated situation until the technique of research is further developed, and until cooperation between scientifically trained Orientals and Occidentals offsets the bias implicit in national or racial ideals.

In lieu of general conclusions of a reliable nature that get down into individual experiences, group forces, and cultural change, the observations of all degrees of prejudice over a period of about a century are utilized in this volume. Sometimes the reader will find passionate partisanship in place of impartial and painstaking records of events—but the presentation of that partisanship will show him that *it* is a significant *fact*. Again the reader may at first be disappointed in finding portrayed typical situations of a decade, or even half-century ago, instead of an account of conditions during the present year—but the social tendencies disclosed in those situations may throw light on these current happenings. In spite of the unsatisfactory state of the reporting that has been done on missions, the reader will discern fundamental ways in which missions have been affecting alien civilizations, group activities, and individuals' experiences. And that, he may feel, is worth while and demonstrates the need of scientific research into the whole range of effects produced by missions.

This study takes up human reactions; it offers no "spiritual," theological or metaphysical interpretations of them. It depicts certain processes found in nationalism; it presents no nationalistic

program. This social-psychological mode of analysis is not meant to be too obtrusive, but it is hoped that the representation of individual incentives (App. II, Sec. 2, a; chap. vii, 202 ff.; xi & xii; etc.), and of the way groups influence their members (e.g , chaps. ii & xii; vii, 216 ff.; etc.) and protect themselves (e.g., chap. vii, 205 ff.; etc.), to mention two or three items only, may be interesting for their possible application to wider fields. If a disproportionate amount of space seems to be given to anti-missionary and neutral reactions, it is only because the pro-missionary native and the convert may be later treated almost exclusively in a projected volume on *Missions and Social Change*. The perspective of this study and the problems involved in the analysis of the data, are discussed in the Introduction and the Appendices.

Indebtedness to teachers who have stimulated me in developing the point of view employed in this volume cannot be estimated. Dr. William I. Thomas, Dr. Edward S. Ames, Professor George H. Meade, Dean Albion W. Small, and Dr. Robert E. Park are foremost among them. To the last-named I am indebted also for early encouragement and for careful examination of my entire materials in uncompleted form. The courtesies of reading the completed manuscript and offering helpful suggestions, I owe to Dr. Alexander A. Goldenweiser of the New School for Social Research, New York City, and to Dr. Robert S. Woodworth of Columbia University. Among others who have read all or parts of the manuscript are two missionary authors, Dr. James B. Webster of Shanghai College, Dr. Herbert S. Rudd, recently of West Union University, Chengtu, China, and my colleague in educational publishing and distribution, Mr. Marshall Dunn

Criticisms, suggestions, detailed first-hand descriptions of any relevant cases, and information as to particularly exact socio-psychological data in this general field of contemporary culture contact, I shall gratefully welcome.

MAURICE T. PRICE

Shanghai, China, August, 1924.

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INTRODUCTION

PERSPECTIVE OF THE FIELD, RELEVANT STUDIES, AUTHOR'S PROCEDURE

(Abstract:—Study of a culture-contact situation due to institutionalized religious propaganda. Related work by anthropologists and sociologists. Missionary literature. Writer's materials and purpose. Sketch of contents.)

1. POINT OF VIEW AND SCOPE

From the theoretical point of view adopted for this study, the personnel of Protestant Christian propaganda, its churches, schools, hospitals, and printing presses, and all that goes on in connection with them, are an introduction into non-Christian countries of certain aspects of Occidental civilization. In considering them as importations from an alien source, we are studying what the anthropologists call *culture-contact and cross-fertilization of cultures. Human behavior aspects* of culture are stressed, however, rather than buildings, tools, and material objects in general.

When these innovations first appear, they come as *interests of a particular group;* they come integrated with an institution called the Christian Church; they represent, in fact, the importing into non-Occidental countries of the Christian Church's *version of Occidental culture.*

The *impingement and infiltration* of this special version of alien culture, then, are not merely accidental, casual, and undirected. They are *initiated by deliberate propaganda and manipulative effort* on the part of the Church institution and its individual representatives.

The present volume is confined largely to *non-Christian reactions to the propaganda.* The personnel and technique of the propaganda, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the more permanent effects of the manipulative effort and of the reactions to it, are left for later treatment.

Incidentally, the fact that the innovating institution represents the Christian religion, attempting to "convert" adherents

of other faiths and to integrate them within its organization, requires that any analysis of the situation *becomes in part an analysis of certain aspects of Christian and non-Christian religious experience and culture.* It should be noted in addition, that the definite cultural objective of the innovating forces and the strangeness of the interacting peoples to one another, facilitate observation by throwing up into high relief the group accommodations and individual adjustments which develop, and hence the cultural values, including religious values, which are involved.

2. RELEVANT STUDIES

Anthropological Study of "Primitive" Peoples.—Those who have actually grappled with the problem of complex influences between different peoples with the most critical procedure, are the anthropologists. They recognize this as their field. Yet within it they have confined themselves largely to the study of such tools and ornaments, language, ceremonies, forms of social relationship, etc., as have been adopted into some "primitive" group long enough ago to be firmly established as features of its culture—which means that the actual physio-psychological process of adopting new cultural features with its sentiment, passion, appreciating and evaluating aspect, and modes of behavior not represented by objects, is necessarily omitted. Under the name of "diffusion of culture," the transfer from one group to another of such culture traits as they could study thus, was so overstressed by one school of anthropologists that the "critical ethnologists" and their followers have repudiated much of their work and finally adopted a combined historical and psychological method which has thus far resulted in few generalizations upon the problem of cross-fertilization of cultures. Our field, they have scarcely been able to touch.*

*There is reason to hope, however, that such restriction of their field may not prevent them from an interest in contemporary contacts between the modern Occident and Oceanic, African, and Oriental peoples.

In the first place they have given disproportionate attention to *primitive* peoples because (1) they were at first interested in origins; (2) they could get at cultural principles easier in theless complex material; and (3) they saw whole culture-systems being broken up in the onslaught of alien peoples upon the primitive groups. At the same time they have averred that their field includes

Sociological Investigations of Immigrants and Race Mixture.—It is investigation into contemporary immigration to the United States and the social and racial problem of intermingling peoples there, by recent sociologists, that provides us with materials more analagous to those obtainable in our field and with analyses more relevant. The five-volume monograph of Thomas and Znaniecki on *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, [Thomas,] Park and Miller's *Old World Traits Transplanted*, Reuter's *The Mulatto in the United States*, Richmond's *Social Diagnosis*, and other investigations of merit in this field* contain orientations, methods, and conclusions that can hardly be overlooked by the student of culture- and race-contacts in other parts of the world. The fact that the writer gained access to these works only after most of his materials had been collected and his analyses made,

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complex as well as simple cultures and the sweep of history as well as its earlier periods. (E.g., Marett, *Anthropology*, 11-12.)

In the second place, Spencer and other "evolutionists" of the more rigid type previously debarred the study of *culture-contact* with their hypothesis regarding the urge toward uniform stages of culture; "diffusionists" like Graebner went to the other extreme and aroused aversion to it by the exclusive or uncritical dependence upon it in explaining cultural similarities; and now the latest critical workers are taking it up incidentally as they attempt to trace the features of a given culture to their historical antecedents. (Goldenweiser, "Four Phases of Anthropological Thought," *Pub. of the Amer. Sociol. Soc.*, XVI (1921), 50-69.)

On the one hand, then, we have such enthusiastic statements as the following one by Rivers: "If the task of ethnological analysis is to have any chance of success, a number of preliminary problems will have to be settled. There will have to be determined how far elements of culture carried from one part of the world to another tend to disappear or become modified, and what are the causes which lead to this disappearance or modification. There has also to be settled how far introduced influences can modify the native culture and produce customs and institutions which were not present before the blending of the two peoples, but only came into being as a result of their contact." (Rivers, Jenks, and Morley, *Reports Upon the Present Condition and Future Needs of the Science of Anthropology*, 31.) On the other hand, when we enquire how far this interest in cross-fertilization of cultures has produced any attack of our particular field, even by diffusionists, the outlook changes. Thurnwald, in a discussion of such fusion processes as occur in Buddhistic, Islamic, and Christian propaganda, states: "Diese Vergänge näher zu untersuchen, haben bisher die Ethnologen unterlassen, welche auf Übertragungen grosses Gewicht legen." (*Vorschläge zur psychologischen Untersuchung primitiver Menschen*, 8.) However, at present the historico-psychological method has been applied in our field by at least one worker. Paul Radin in his study of the Peyote cult of the Winnebago (American) Indians, and of one of its members, has shown how certain features of Christianity have been taken over *in toto* and some with decided modification as a result of Christian influences. (Radin, "A Sketch of the Peyote Cult of the Winnebago: A Study in Borrowing," *Jour. of Relig. Psy.*, III (1914), 1-22. Radin, *The Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian.*)

*See Bibliography in Appendix III.

may account for the fact that his procedure does not show more likeness to that which some of them employ; at the same time he has tried out other methods and points of view which he hopes may have a value of their own.

Missionaries' Writings.—We are not overlooking the vast amount of literature produced by missionaries themselves. We shall use materials from it continually. However, it does not lay any claim to comprehensive or scientific treatment of the process we are studying, from the socio-psychological point of view. Written by men absorbed in the problems of "putting over" an enterprise on the field and of keeping a constituency at home in touch with aspects of it that appeal to them, it is necessarily restricted and colored by these circumstances. Even so, an increasingly realistic point of view has been brought to bear upon their rich first-hand experiences. And, whereas a few of them have always done work upon the literature and the customs of the people which has been of high rank,[1] their writings are now showing evidences of the emphasis on psychology and sociology prevalent in the West. Warneck with a study of Animists' reactions to Christianity; Kato and Annett with studies of conversion experiences in Japan and India, respectively; Webster with a study of the missionary group's motivation; and Farquhar with a study of the antagonistic and the constructive reactions of non-Christian groups in India; —each has made a realistic attack upon some phase of the propagandic process.[2] One of the most significant things about these writers is their recognition of the great complexity of the problem, of the meagerness of present findings, and of the necessity, as Warneck puts it, "to have as exhaustive an estimate as possible of the natural factors which come into operation as allies of heathenism or of the Gospel."[3]* It is

*Parallel to this is an appreciation by missionary and other Christian leaders in the West of the importance of this critical investigation for both the above practical motive and for further theoretical ones as well. Brown, in *Modern Missions in the Far East*, declares: "What is it which differentiates Christianity from all the other religions? What gives it its convicting and converting power over the men whom it draws under its spell? This is a question which it is hard

toward the clarification and development of the naturalistic mode of analysis—applied by these authors as an accessory to their promotion activity—that the writer's work is offered as a contribution.

3. AUTHOR'S PROCEDURE

Materials.—It was after some twelve years of close acquaintance with the presentation of Protestant Christian missions which is made amongst the Occidental constituency supporting them, that, about ten years ago, the writer began to inquire into their processes and effects from a comparative and human behavior point of view. He selected for study representative sources—autobiographies and biographies of both converts and missionaries; representative statements and observations by indigenous leaders, both non-Christian and anti-Christian; an *India Census* report and a *South African Native Affairs Commission* report; observations also of travellers, ethnologists, etc., from the West; Western criticisms of missions and apologetics for missions; the nine volumes of the Edinburgh Report of the *World Missionary Conference* held in 1910 and the issues of the *International Review of Missions*, which has succeeded it.

Aim.—It was difficult to secure personal co-operation on any large scale from many who were ready to give it, on account of the difficulty of presenting to them the behavior point of view applied to our problem, in a convenient concrete form. Aside from the quite limited boundaries of what has been called the psychology of religion, there is *no introductory work* which shows what it means to apply the socio-psychological point of view to the classifying and interpreting of data in this field. And *for the investigator* there is no outline sketch of religion, missionary work, or the behavior aspects of culture-contact, and no tentative presentation of problems to be attacked. Indeed, it requires

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for us to answer impartially, living as we do in the environment where Christianity has been at home for centuries until it has become practically synonymous for many of us with all that we know as religion [he might have added, "and morality"]. But on the foreign field it is not so. Here Christianity meets other faiths of hoary antiquity, and men who have known vital religion in other forms. *We have here therefore the ideal scene for the scientific study of the Christian religion.*" (Italics ours.) (P. 50.)

search through a great many sources to obtain facts of individual and group behavior varied enough to warrant either a critical treatment of statistics now available or proposals for comparable units to be used in gathering more explicit quantitative data. The aim of this and complementary volumes by the author is in no way, therefore, to offer summary conclusions on the nature and function of missions. It is to *contribute, rather, toward outlining the field, trying out points of view for classifying and analysing data, delineating problems to be attacked, and preparing the ground for more precise definitions of categories, comparable units, etc.* From the methodological point of view, the way in which it handles the concrete vivid material of the missionary impact, is but the first step; it is hoped that this step may facilitate localized investigations of importance to the sciences of human hahavior and of society, as well as to the individuals and groups studied. A more technical discussion of our objective, problems, methods, and categories, will be found in Appendix I.

4. OUTLINE OF PRESENT STUDY

In the body of the book a birds-eye view is taken, first, of the different ways in which non-Christian peoples act and feel about the Christian Church's attempt to proselyte them (Chapter I). It is immediately evident that group relationships and loyalties are a crucial factor in their attitudes (Chapter II). In order to get into closer grip with other important factors, those reactions which are initial and temporary are dealt with separately (Chapter III), so as to avoid confusing them with the more permanent responses which are the concern of the rest of the volume. These latter are now divided into the non-approving and the approving responses, the one set dropping out of view after its analysis has been taken up (Chapters IV-VIII) and the other set (Chapters IX and X) leading on in some cases through a transition period (Chapters XI-XIII) to conversion and membership in the alien group.

The problem is to get deeper and deeper into the root causes for the different reactions of non-Christian peoples. In the case

of initial and temporary responses (Chapter III), it is a comparatively simple matter to see what possibilities the data hold. With persistent forms of response (Chapter IV and following) the situation is more difficult. An orientation clears away the haze from certain popular explanations of indifference and opposition such as "tolerance," "race-antagonism," etc. (Chapter IV). Then the concrete material on habitual non-approval is examined *as the data presents it*—namely, as professed causes of non-approval. As such it falls into plausible categories like "Difference in Mores," "Group Attitudes," "Vested Interests," etc., used in popular sociological discussions (Chapters V-VI). But when critically examined with the reader, this interpretative classification does not allow the differentiation of driving, stimulating, and conditioning factors that is necessary for adequate analysis from the standpoint of causal sequence; and certain theoretical bases of analysis are therefore briefly proposed—which are more elaborately discussed in Appendix II — to make up the deficiency. Applying the proposed point of view illustratively to data in the preceding chapters brings out vividly a fundamental animus behind such non-approving behavior (Chapter VII). Inferences are then drawn and suggestions made toward the more exact analysis of the whole body of non-approving behavior from this fresh point of view (Chapter VIII).

The method for classifying and analysing data having been worked out with the reader during the examination of non-Christians' *rejections* of Christian missions, it is applied, "in the rough" and without any preliminaries, to their *approving responses* (Chapters IX and X).

But missionary agencies are no more willing to stop with persistent approval than with initial and temporary approval. Candidacy for church membership is the first formal goal set for all non-Christians they can influence. The final chapters in our treatment of non-Christian reactions to the Protestant missionary enterprise, therefore, are devoted to the socio-psychological aspects of the transition stage where

approvers become candidates for church membership (Chapters XI-XIII).

A summary sketch is given covering the field of the study without restriction to the categories previously employed (Chapter XIV).

Obviously, the reason the reader is thus taken into the writer's confidence is that the book does not pretend to present finalities. As it is claimed in Appendix I, only when more exact and detailed records are available, can the method of analysis be greatly refined. On the other hand, since one of the most important things to be done in the meantime is to demonstrate the inadequacy of present materials and modes of analysis, the reader is taken through the steps by which the writer found current notions of the propaganda unsatisfactory and was led into the new method of handling it suggested in Chapter VII and following, and critically discussed in Appendices II and I. The technique of socio-psychology is in its infancy, but that does not mean that the materials and categories now available may not dispel many illusions and give many clues to more adequate interpretations of human experience.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

1. Ethnological Studies by Codrington, Junod, Roscoe, Strehlow, and others; translations of Oriental classics by missionaries to the Far East; etc.
2. See Bibliography at the end of the book for full titles, publishers, and dates.
3. Warneck, 25.

CHAPTER I

HOW NON-CHRISTIANS REACT TO MISSIONS

(The Salient Forms of Response and Non-Response)

To the African and to the untutored masses in Oriental countries, the Protestant Christian propagandists first appeared as strange foreigners—white magicians in huge boats, or "foreign devils," the name by which the white man is still called in some parts of Japan and China. The uncanny alien settled in their country, learned their language, and talked and talked and talked to whomever might be curious or interested. After a while he induced some of them to join a group of which he was the leader, to visit continually a place where there were long speeches and certain peculiar ceremonies—some of these most mysterious—and to promise compliance with his peculiar code and that of his Book (the Bible). Not only did those followers adhere to strange "doctrine" or "worship," but they broke off sacred and inviolable customs and even severed relations with their own people, a heinous crime.

More foreigners came. More of the people went to listen to them, to attend their schools, to accept their medicines. They even let their children live in the schools or the homes of these foreigners from the time they could walk till they were of marriageable age.[1]* In this way many of the children came to wear the foreign dress, used foreign toothbrushes, pencils, and books, learned to sing the foreigners' music—in brief, worshipped and worked and played as did the foreigners. The new generation were separated and estranged from their own people. Of course they had acquired some "knowledge" and were much more clever than they would have been otherwise. But they were lost, lost *to* the foreigner, lost *from* their own people.

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*Bibliographical Notes corresponding to these elevated numbers will be found at the end of each chapter.

Consciously or unconsciously, the foreign missionary had, by his entrance, brought about a situation in which were all the elements of a conflict, fundamental if not tragic.

To the ordinary student of social phenomena these Protestant Christian propagandists are representatives of an alien civilization or culture, who enter another country from their own, and, in various degrees, bring its people under the control of their foreign beliefs, standards of conduct, sentiments, and organization—they were invaders, imperialists with an aggressive and well-defined colonial policy. Organized foreign propaganda by Protestant Christian missions, with about thirty thousand imported agents, thousands of schools, millions of pages of literature, and a host of miscellaneous utensils and customs, constitutes a cultural impact, a provocative "stimulus" or "attack," of enormous proportions. Naturally there are reactions—something has to happen. And the reactions of native cultures cover a wide range, from the most violent antagonism of the Turkish Mohammedan, on the one hand, to the open welcome of oppressed hill tribes in India, on the other.

To examine and analyze the outstanding types of these different reactions to the impact of Protestant Christian propaganda in foreign countries, is our first step in this study. If they are significant, we can go further. The student of social phenomena wants, first of all, to see clearly, to objectify where possible, the reactions of African and Oriental: through them, he can get at the salient effects upon the native of the propagandist's organized activities, sentiments, and beliefs.

The kinds of reception given to Christian propaganda are as different, of course, as are the individuals and groups to whom it is offered. Any classification of them is more or less arbitrary. Yet, such is necessary for analysis. The large amount of data examined by the writer seems to fall logically into these rough categories:

(1) *First impulsive reactions*, or, initial temporary responses.

(2) *Indifference*, or, lack of any permanent response.

More permanent responses:

(3) *Resistance*, or, passive opposition;
(4) *Counter-attack*, or, active opposition;
(5) *Connivance and tacit cooperation*, or, passive receptivity, and
(6) *Readiness to join the new group*, or, active receptivity.

This is a cross-section view, each category designating only one stage in a changing process; for, if the missionary preaches or teaches long enough, he will soon secure all of these types of reaction. We might very profitably take any one of the specific propagandic agents and examine the different forms of response to it, serially, as effects of one particular form of stimulus. To illustrate this method of study we shall mention the propagandist's educational work and point out different responses to it. The cross-section point of view allows a comprehensive sketch of all agencies at the same time, however, and so we are adopting it in the main. The existence, not the analysis, of these salient types of reaction is our concern now, beginning with the initial temporary reactions.

1. FIRST IMPULSIVE REACTIONS

(Initial Temporary Responses)

The first time Africans or Asiatics are brought face to face with the foreign propagandist—with his strange physiognomy and dress, his house, his preaching and singing, his schools and his churches—their attention is arrested.

> "The unsophisticated African entertains aversion to white people, and when, on accidentally or unexpectedly meeting a white man he turns or takes to his heels, it is because he feels that he has come upon some unusual or unearthly creature, some hobgoblin, ghost, or sprite; and when he does not look straight in a white man's face, it is because he believes in the 'evil eye,' and that an aquiline nose, scant lips, and cat-like eyes afflict him. The Yaruba word for a European means a peeled man, and to many an African the white man exudes some rancid odour not agreeable to his olfactory nerves."[2]

The black preacher's explanation of the unsophisticated African's hasty retreat from the white would probably be no more

surprising to most young missionaries than native explanations by Chinese and Japanese of their aversions (if we could obtain them), even after they have become familiar with the white skins, light-colored eyes, strange odor, and alien manners of European and American.

> Yan Phou Lee's statement is typically incomplete, relating how another Chinese boy and himself, who had been invited to a certain gathering by Americans with whom they were visiting, bolted when they saw what this innocent meeting turned out to be: " 'It is a church,' said my companion in Chinese. We were confirmed in our suspicions on peeping in and seeing the people rise to sing. 'Church! church!' we muttered, and rushed from the edifice with all the speed we could command. We did not stop till we get into our room, while our American friends, surprised at this move on our part and failing to overtake us, went back to the church."[3]

A "foreigner" may be at a peculiar disadvantage in interpreting initial responses.

> Several years ago a missionary in China was preaching in a country chapel to a large crowd mostly made up of "raw heathen." Few of the crowd showed any interest. But one man at the back of the assembly showed from the beginning of the talk an extreme interest in the speaker. He moved from his seat at the back to one nearer the front. The missionary noticed him and began to center his remarks upon this man. The man moved again, when a vacancy occurred, to the very front of the crowd, all the time appearing to drink in literally every word as it fell from the preacher's mouth. At the end of the sermon the missionary invited inquirers to remain. This man remained and the missionary went to him first, because of the intense interest that the man has been manifesting.
>
> "Yes, I want to ask you a question," answered the Chinese, to a request for some expression from him, "I have been watching all through the service that gold tooth in your mouth, and I would like to know if it grew there, or how you got it, and whether it is real gold."[4]

A "native"* seems at little better advantage when his

*This word "native" is used with no connotation of depreciation. In speaking of the inhabitants of the countries to whom missionaries are sent, we are under necessity to employ either "natives," "non-Christians," or "nationals" continually. "Foreigner," by which we often designate the Occidental immigrant to these countries, often has as much derogation attached to it in these lands as "native" may have among Occidentals.

preconceptions have been colored by an exotic group of people; i.e., by their concepts and feelings.

> The noted Neesima, founder of Doshisha University in Japan, wrote from Annaka, Japan, in 1874: "I preached to a large audience in a Buddhist Temple. All the priests in that community came to listen to the preaching of the new religion, and also the whole of the magistrates of Takasaki, a neighboring city of 15,000 inhabitants. They are hungry and thirsty for the Christian truth."[5]

We cannot help suspecting Neesima's interpretation of his fellow-countrymen's curiosity as "hunger and thirst" for Christian truth, as being extremely naive; for Buddhist priests in China to-day rent their temples for conferences of the Young Men's Christian Association with the same innocent ignorance that the Y. M. C. A. movement aims most assuredly at their supercession.*

These instances all have the appearance of being temporary. They are initial responses based upon superficial impressions; chance happenings may reverse them. To avoid gross miscalculation in his early efforts, the propagandist, as well as the student, must recognize them as such, if it is possible to do so. He will then want to discover any ascertainable causes of these first reactions so that he may be on the look-out for them, utilize them, or remove them in his relations with the people.

2. INDIFFERENCE

(Lack of any Permanent Response)

Accounts of the indifference which often follows the first reactions to the missionary's propaganda, show the same naivete, the same inability to perceive the actual causes of response. Though they themselves exhibit the most alien behavior and notions, missionaries to Burmah, for example, are yet utterly taken back by the apathy, inertness and indifference which their

*The use of Buddhist temples by Christians is a familiar occurrence in missionary work. Timothy Richard once went to a priest and "explained to him the meaning of the ceremony" so as to get permission to use his temple for converts to dress in after a baptismal immersion. We should like to have the explanation verbatim! Richard, 95.

preaching meets: it is blatant; and the theologico-philosophical problems of sin, of pain, of injustice and inequality seem to concern only a few!

Here are typical extracts from Livingstone's Journal, apropos of this discovery:

"Banks of Chobe, Sunday, May 15th.—Preached twice to about sixty people. Very attentive. It is only divine power which can enlighten dark minds as these. . . . The people seem to receive ideas on divine subjects slowly. They listen, but never suppose that the truths must become embodied in actual life. . . . . .

"Sunday, 19th June.—A good and attentive audience, but immediately after the service, I went to see a sick man, and when I returned toward the Kotla, I found the chief had retired into a hut to drink beer; and, as the custom is, about forty men were standing singing to him, or, in other words, begging beer by that means. A minister who had not seen so much pioneer service as I have done would have been shocked to see so little effect produced by an earnest discourse concerning the future judgment, but time must be given to allow the truth to sink into the dark mind and produce its effect. The earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord—that is enough. We can afford to work in faith, for Omnipotence is pledged to fulfill the promise."[6]

After years of effort to explain and persuade, they themselves have come to know and to expect that large numbers who "hear the doctrine" will not accept it. Some missionaries dismiss the subject by saying that the great mass of certain peoples are "hard of heart," or "given over to the works of the Evil One." These expressions are applied to Asiatic and African by several sectarian groups. Other missionaries, with a more modern point of view, take social causes more and more into consideration; yet these, too, are likely to ascribe large importance to teaching and the intellectualistic factor in general.

Speaking of Africa as a whole, a Commission of the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference of 1910 remarks rather pointedly: "The animistic peoples of Africa would seem to be in no way dissatisfied with their religion, or are so only in isolated instances."[7]

In view of the numbers of Bibles and amount of "Christian literature" spread throughout Asia by missionary agencies, and the personal advertising which Christianity has had there during

the last century, it might be said that vast numbers of people have proven indifferent.* However, on the whole we are considering here only cases or regions where Christianity has been somewhat persistently presented.

> In many places, as the Report (of the above conference) says with regard to work in Ceylon, "We should not be blind to the fact that the results of missionary work have been comparatively meagre."[8]

3. RESISTANCE

(Responses of Passive Opposition)

Various explanations of the meagre results of certain mission work give an impression of hidden forces which consciously or purposely resist. Commissions of The World Missionary Conference of 1910 gave many instances which may come under such a heading.

> For instance: "Since the year 1840 the Brethren have carried on work among the Indians along the River Berbice. A great many attempts have been made to carry on mission work among the Indians of Brazil, but after a few years all of them were relinquished because of apparently insurmountable obstacles."[9]

> In 1912 Inazo O. Nitobe of Japan frankly stated:
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> ". . . Christianity is only tolerated in Japan, and not publicly recognized as are Shinto and Buddhism. The Imperial Constitution, however, secures religious freedom to all. . .At the present time . . . the Vice-minister of Home Affairs, by conviction a faithful Buddhist, and a man of large heart and of wide outlook, has launched the idea . . . of bestowing upon Christianity government recognition . . ."[10]

Close scrutiny of the non-Christian civil groups, or of the religious sects, social castes, and families in any such regions often discloses a quite definite attitude of resistance.

> Warneck, a twenty year veteran among the Animists asserts that "the animistic heathen by no means fall into the arms of Christianity; rather they withstand it actively or passively . . . Of course, heathenism does not always aggressively assail the Gospel and its messengers, for fanaticism is not one of its

*Those familiar with the history of organized Christianity in the *West* refer to it continuously in book and magazine, to prevent discouragement by slow progress in contemporary missions. See Fullani, 157.

> characteristics, and where open conflicts arise, very often they are the outcome of other motives. But the experience of mission work shows that nowhere has heathenism, at the first, any desire to know anything about the new religion."[11]

Such an attitude may be called passive only because it does not strike back upon the propagandist. It is a legitimate question as to whether a large part of those who come into relation with Christian forces do not take on this attitude of passive opposition. It is not easy for the casual observer to ascertain, particularly where Oriental etiquette demands outward courtesy towards all who are not directly treated as enemies. It usually requires for detection a knowledge of the intra-group situation in any unpermeable or unresponsive group and of the motives on which they are based. Resistance is easily camouflaged, and hence, easily overlooked by the observer.

4. COUNTER-ATTACK

(Responses of Active Opposition)

Warneck's statement about Animists' opposition to Christianity may appear as a warning to the reader against hastily assuming that peoples of one general culture level always take the same attitude. His caution is supported in this case by the fact that Animists (using that word in his own loose sense, of course,) in certain islands of the Pacific have murdered Christian propagandists.

> "The first missionary who visited Sumatra was courteously but decidedly told to go away. The two who followed were murdered and eaten. Then came the Rhine missionaries, whose first messengers had to fight with a resistance they found it hard to subdue."[12]

Even so, it is quite possible that both indifference and violent opposition may be only initial and temporary, in the case of primitive peoples.

> With regard to Melanesian missions, notably those of New Guinea, the Report says: "Great results have been achieved, but at great cost of labour and life. Indeed, of the South Sea Islands generally, it may be said that their evangelization has contributed a long list to the roll of martyrs; but the sacrifice

has borne rich fruits, and the question of their complete evangelization is largely one of time, patience, and persistency."[13]

In peoples of more complex culture, there is also evidence of a shifting of attitudes, though it may be in a different direction. *The History of Christianity in Japan* by Otis Cary illustrates this forcibly. Farquhar, who has given us the best general account of the rise of modern religious and social reform movements in India, traces in some detail the gradual evolution of the Somaj reformation movements, and then, following this, the transition on the part of the more stable culture groups of India from their passive attitude to a lively opposition.

In summary of the latter, he says:

" . . . From about that date [1870] a great change manifests itself in the spirit of the educated classes of India. Hitherto they have been docile pupils: now they begin to show the vigour and independence of youth. There is a wonderful outburst of freshness, energy and initiative. Many forms of new effort and organization appear. The most pronounced line of thought is growing desire to defend Hinduism, and an increasing confidence in its defensibility. This movement is now shared by Muslims, Buddhists, Jains and Parsees, but it appeared first among Hindus. Rather later, new political aspirations began to be expressed; the Indian National Congress came into being; and the native press climbed to great influence. About the same time the Social Reform Movement was organized. The first college organized by Hindus was opened in Calcutta in 1879.

"Religiously, the new feeling created what was practically a Counter-Reformation. A large number of religious movements sprang into being, all of them quite as distinctly opposed to the Brahma Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj as to Christianity. . .

. . . . . .

"All the leading Hindu sects, both Vishnuite and Sivaite, have formed defence associations; and Jains, Buddhists, Parsees and Muhammadans have followed their example."[14]

An awakening of a somewhat parallel nature has occurred in the Moslem sections of the world and in Buddhist and other regions. But even where there has been no "awakening" and "counter-awakening," we may find bitter opposition: the inhabitants of pure Moslem or Lamaist countries for centuries have spontaneously flared into hatred and persecution at the first contact with Christian evangelists and their converts.[15]

The fact that we seem to have a startling anomaly here, does not alter the existence of the fact. Denial of it is out of the question. Yet so utterly different, says the candid observer, is this actual bitterness, anger, and hatred to that tolerant, understanding, and friendly attitude which Christianity professes to evoke and foster in its world-wide propaganda.* The explanation of this apparent discrepancy and inconsistency, offered by propagandists on the field itself, is most significant: they admit freely the fact that an intolerant, misunderstanding, and unfriendly attitude is aroused in certain cases but are likely to offer an interpretation which makes it a tribute to the absolute perfection of Christianity.† The equally plausible explanations suggested by the facts we have gathered will appear in our later analyses.

Defense, Recrimination, and Competition (Indirect Counter-Attack).—Defensive replies to what they consider defamatory charges or malicious calumny on the part of the Christian forces; deliberate and systematic counter-accusations against the invading Christianity; organization of competitive activities to prevent the missionaries from any further success; direct imitation of Christianity's technique for securing and holding converts—all such non-violent efforts have marked the Moslem, Hindu, and Buddhist worlds during the past generation without secrecy and without disguise. For the sake of Western readers, we quote at some length:—[16]

*Henry Sloane Coffin, one of the most prominent leaders of Christianity in America, speaking of post-war conditions in the April, 1919, number of the *International Review of Missions*, says: " . . . the would-be rebuilders of a smashed world know the kind of world they want; they would have it orderly, kindly and brotherly. And it is to these three aspirations that the Christian faith makes its appeal." *I. R. M.*, VIII (1919), 146.

†"The chief moral hindrance to the acceptance of Christianity is the general absence of any real sense of responsibility and therefore of sin. 'To the Christian the idea of sin, as the wilful transgression of the law of God, lies at the very root of his whole conception of man's relation to God. On the other hand to the Vedantist, sin, as the Christian conceives it, has no real existence, and men who are themselves parts of the divine essence are, by their very nature incapable of sin. A Vedantist, like the late Swami Vivekananda, is quite logical in declaring that it is a libel on humanity to speak of men and women as sinners.' (Bishop of Madras)." *W. M. C.*, IV. 162.

"The Mahamandala stands above all things for the defence of the whole of Hinduism, the Sanatana Dharma, the Eternal Religion, as they call it. The foundation of such an organization is in itself almost a portent. Hinduism has never in the course of its whole history been a single organization. It has been a natural growth, springing up and spreading like the grass, the flowers and the forests of India. No one has ever been able to count its sects, or to classify its multitudes of wandering ascetics. Nor until now has the Hindu ever felt the need of union for defence. . . . . .

" . . . First of all, like every other modern religious movement in India, the Mahamandala finds itself driven to set forth the Hindu system as the religion for all mankind. To defend a religion which is but the religion of the Hindus is felt to be impossible for the modern mind. Hence we have the extraordinary spectacle of this organization, created for the express purpose of defending the religion which in all its own sacred books is expressly restricted to the four highest castes—Brahmans, Kashatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras,—making the following declaration:

" 'But the Sanatana Dharma is not marked by any such spirit of narrowness or exclusiveness. It is not a particular creed promising salvation to its followers alone; it is the universal Dharma for all mankind.' ([Footnote:] *Mahamandal Magazine*, Vol. I, No. I, p. 8.)

"Again, in all the sacred literature of Hinduism the rule is laid down that the Vedas must not be made known to any one except initiated members of the three twice-born castes, Brahmans, Kashatriyas and Vaisyas. No woman, and no Sudra may hear the sacred words, not to speak of Outcastes and foreigners. This rule may be found thousands of times in all the great books legal and philosophical . . . Yet this most orthodox movement, backed by the heads of all the greatest Hindu sects, sells copies of any part of the Vedas to any one who cares to buy them, and encourages their study, no matter what a man's caste may be.

. . . . . .

"Perhaps the most striking evidence of the working of the leaven that has yet appeared is a paper which occurs in the first number of the official organ of the movement, *The Mahamandal Magazine*. It is a clear, well-written, forcible paper by Professor Phani Bhusan Adhikara, M. A., on The Need of a Critical History of Hinduism."[17]

"In 1885 there was founded in the city of Lahore the Anjuman-i-Hemayet-i-Islam—i.e., the Society for the Defence of

Islam; and since that date branch associations have been formed in many towns throughout India. The objects of the Association are set forth as follows in a prospectus of the society:

I. (a) Rationally and intelligently to answer, through verbal discussion or in writing, any accusations advanced against Islam, and to further its propagation.

(b) To impart suitable and necessary education to all Muslim boys and girls, and save them from abjuring their own true faith.

(c) To take upon itself the maintenance and education, to the best of its ability, of Muhammadan orphans, and to render all possible educational aid to poor Muslim boys and girls, so as to save them from falling into the hands of the followers of other religions.

(d) To improve the social, moral and intellectual condition of the Muslim community and initiate measures conducive to the creation and preservation of friendly feelings and concord between the different sects of Islam.

(e) To bring home to the Muhammadans the advantages of loyalty to the British Government.

II. For the realization of its objects, the Anjuman shall appoint preachers, issue a monthly magazine, establish educational institutions and orphanages, and make use of other necessary means.

. . . . . .

"Nor have my Muslim correspondents told me anything about the other activities of the Anjuman. I am therefore driven to give here the experience of missionaries:

" 'The methods of defence adopted by this great organization have been, in brief, the establishment of Muhammadan vernacular and Anglo-vernacular schools for the education of Muslim youth, the publication of a literature, books, tracts and newspapers, for the refutation of anti-Muslim publications as well as for the commandation and propagation of the religion of Islam. In addition to this a Muslim propaganda has been organized, especially to withstand and hinder the work of missions. Even Zenana teachers are supported, whose first duty is to break up, if possible, the missionary Zenana and Girls' Schools. Pressure is brought to bear upon Muslim parents and families to exclude the Christian ladies and workers. Moreover, preachers are supported and sent here and there to preach against the Christian religion and to use every effort to bring back to the Muslim fold any who have been converted to Christianity. Christian perverts [backsliders from Christianity?] are sent out as the chosen agents of this propaganda.

" 'The results of the labours of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-ul-Islam are apparent in a revival of interest among Muslims in their own religion. The Mosques have been repaired and efforts have not been fruitless in securing a better attendance. The boycott inaugurated against missionary work has reduced the attendance of Muslims at the chapels and schools, and has no doubt closed many doors once open to Christian teaching.' ([Footnote:] *Madras Dec. Miss. Conf. Rep., 334.*)

"Clearly this organization is a Muslim parallel to the Bharata Dharma Mahamandala though it has not gained so much publicity."[18]

"The revival of Buddhism is particularly noticeable in Japan, Burma, and Ceylon. This is seen in many ways. Temples and shrines have been renovated in some districts. The priests are manifesting greater activity. Most interesting is the semi-Christian modification of the methods and practices and to some extent the ideas of Buddhism. There are regular preaching-places where Buddhist preachers now expound their doctrines. The number of Buddhist schools and colleges is multiplying, especially in Ceylon and Burma. A large Buddhist college has been planned for Tokio. Young Men's Buddhist Associations, Young Women's Buddhist Associations, and Buddhist guilds have sprung up here and there. Special work has been inaugurated on behalf of children, such as Sunday schools, catechism classes, and religious instruction in day schools. Some Buddhist orphanages have been established to prevent destitute children from seeking admission into Christian institutions. The press is also being largely used. Manuals of instructions, tracts, pamphlets and books are being used in large numbers. Better training is being afforded the priests, especially in Japan. A large Buddhist theological school has been established in Kioto, and the young men are flocking there from all quarters. The most energetic workers as well as the most generous givers, are the laymen. The most notable fact, however, is that Buddhism is seeking not only to defend itself but also to take the offensive or aggressive attitude. The Japanese Buddhists have organized a missionary society and have sent workers even to the mainland of Asia. In Burma the Buddhists are being reinforced by many converts from among the hill tribes. It is reported also that among the adherents of Buddhism in Ceylon and Burma are several Europeans. A general Buddhist society in Rangoon is raising funds for the translation of the Pali Buddhist scriptures into English, for spreading Buddhism in London, and for bringing out from

England a number of Englishmen to enter the Buddhist priesthood."[19]

Although Japan and China have gone through changes somewhat different from those of Indian and Moslem Asia, and their reactions to Christianity are not so plentifully recorded in translation, still there is ample evidence of the same fundamental varieties of defense-attitude against Christianity. In the pamphlet *Religious Persecution in China*, Wright traces the relation of "The Confucian Revival" of the last generation to previous *Sectarianism and Religious Persecution in China* reported by De Groot in some two volumes. Such works as the *Blue Books of China* and the ten volumes *Hai Hwo Tu Tze*, containing, Richard asserts, "the vilest calumnies" against the Christian church and often prefaced by the endorsements of provincial viceroys, were employed against Protestants as well as Roman Catholics.[20] Some significant sources on vigorous opposition to Christianity in Japan are quoted and referred to in Cary's *History of Christianity in Japan*. Missionaries write up the Shinto and Buddhist movements of Japan more or less periodically.[21]

The sort of sentiments that are likely to be latent in any part of the East and occasionally to burst forth in native publications, is represented by the *Dai Kokumin* ("The Great Nation"). It was a magazine virulently attacking Christianity, published in Japan in 1916. Four monthly numbers were issued, each about ninety pages, after which it seems to have been suppressed. The cartoons on the covers represent Christ or Christianity as a fleeing, stricken, or cowering dog with a man's face—in three of them with a cross tied to its back; another symbolic figure represents in successive issues the protective spirit, the fierce warrior, the fist, and the foot of Japan striking it. In the articles of this magazine, every sort of attack seems to be made upon Christianity—upon the Bible, the Christian conception of God, Christian culture, missionaries, native Christians of prominence, Christian organization, etc. Some of the writers show a knowledge of the Bible, Christian theology, higher criticism, and modern thought in general. Before the magazine was discontinued it had reached a second edition. It is claimed by the missionaries that some of the Japanese authorities quoted have repudiated things credited to them.[22]

Throughout our own and any data on Christian propaganda, there will be found at least a number of concrete references to the activities of non-Christian groups in the Far East who definitely reject Christianity.

Without discounting other sources of provocation, we may say that the Protestant Christian propaganda has "drawn fire." It is today drawing fire. Yet the intensity of the resentment or hatred toward propagandic forces has not prevented the adoption of the beliefs, of the standards of conduct, of the methods of propaganda used by those forces. Take India, for illustration.

Farquhar, the Christian missionary, asserts:

"... every sort of missionary method and organization has been copied. A modern movement belonging to whatever religion is in almost every detail a replica of a mission. Many of the methods are old, having been long in use in Europe and America, but many are quite fresh, developed to meet the peculiar circumstances of modern India. We shall merely give a list of the more notable of the methods copied, and leave readers to carry the inquiry farther themselves. The modes of congregational worship, the educated ministry, preaching, lecturing, pastoral work, prayer meetings, itinerancy, conferences, make the first group. Sunday schools, Bible classes, Young People's Societies, Bands of Hope, social gatherings and other forms of work for young people, make another. The principles and methods of the mission school and college, girls' schools, boarding schools, hostels, industrial and technical schools, schools for the blind, the deaf, and dumb, orphanages, widows' homes and zenana visitation, form the educational group. All forms of medical work, and also the Christian leper asylum, have been copied. Work among the Outcastes and the wild tribes is one of the most noticeable of all cases. Literature of every type, in English and the vernaculars, for men, young men, women and children, forms another group. Philanthropy and social service can escape no one's notice. Every movement has copied the Y. M. C. A., and a few have tried to reproduce the Salvation Army. The very names used by Christians are adopted and used by non-Christians. The whole movement is a revival; the work is conducted by Hindu, Arya or Muslim Missionaries; and on many of them the title Reverend is conferred; Vivekananda organized a mission, and many others have followed him; Gita Classes are conducted; Prayer Meetings are held; and Young Men's Hindu (or Arya, Jain, Muslim, Buddhist) Associations are organized; and the language of the Bible and of Christian prayer is on every lip."[23]

"In all the movements we trace a strong desire that their leaders should be like missionaries, that their priests and teach-

> ers should be men of training, of high moral character and spiritual power. Each body desires to give its teachers a modern training in theology, so that they may be able to teach the people and to defend the system from outside attack. The sectarian movements have organized examinations and offered prizes to stimulate study; while the Parsees, the Jains and the Muhammadans are making serious attempts to organize modern systems of theological training."[24]

Anything may be selected, it seems, which is not obviously inconsistent with what is regarded as essential in the traditions of the group. The new elements may, indeed, appear outwardly to transform the very fibre of the Hindu or the Buddhist sect. The Christian propagandists sometimes smile and say, "They are taking over the ideas and the methods of Christianity while opposing it, and inevitably they must succumb to its power." On the other hand, some non-Christian groups may of course oppose staunchly any deviation from complete agreement with the dogma of their own teaching—the ultra-orthodox movements have arisen among Moslems and Hindus alike. The amount of change which actually takes place after the first superficial copying of patterns from Western and Christian practice, are not up for discussion at present.

It must not be forgotten that recrimination and the incitement of feeling and passion often form a part of this non-violent counter-attack. The testimony on Islam bore this out. Orthodox Hinduism, the Report asserts, has sent out "street preachers who give themselves largely to antagonizing Christianity, rather than to promulgating Hindu doctrines."[25]

> "In the liveliest colours Pandita Rambai describes the opposition to missionary work which arises out of the Swadeshi movement in varying strength in different parts of India: 'The Swadeshi Movement . . . has for one of its objects the opposition of the Christian religion as a foreign religion. The agents of the Swadeshi movement are printing a vast amount of literature which is greatly opposing Christianity and corrupting the thoughts of the people. They are spreading this literature all over the country. They are preventing their children from going to Christian schools, and teaching them to hate Christianity and the Christians with all their heart. They are trying to keep

themselves and their children away from Christianity and Christians by putting such people out of their caste as would work for, or with, Christians. This last course is adopted to a greater extent in villages than in the cities. The agents of the Swadeshi movement employ lecturers to go over the country—especially to places of pilgrimage—to create misunderstanding about and hatred toward Christians. The organization of opposition bands to the Christian preaching bands is the order amongst them. What is worst of all is that their agents are trying to corrupt thoughts and work out ill-feeling towards Christianity among women and children and low-caste people."[26]

Though less vitriolic than the *Dai Kokumin* of 1916, pamphlets circulated in Japan in 1868, which are reproduced by Cary, were aimed just as certainly at arousing a hostility that would eradicate Christianity from the Empire.

For instance: "I humbly pray the princes, nobles, and great officers to speak to the wise of the three systems (Shintoist, Buddhist, Confucianist) to rigidly prohibit this religion while our people are not yet deeply affected with Protestantism; to expel these fellows, to prevent the divine Princes from being polluted by the stinking wind, to prevent this necromantic doctrine from throwing the right system into confusion; and thus insure to the people safety under the shadow of the Imperial favour."[27]

The *Blue Books* and similar publications in China had the same end in view; and the anti-Christian movement which assumed significance in 1921-1922, differed in procedure, but not in ultimate aim.

Fanatical Violence and Legal Prohibition (Direct Counter-Attack).—There is no abrupt line between non-violent forms of opposition to the Christian promoters and those where physical force is used. Official toleration does not mean that restrictions and obstructions of all sorts are rid of.

In describing the treatment to which Christian missions are subjected in the Asiatic Levant, one writer asserts: "Travelling permits have been refused, and at one time several missionaries were detained a number of weeks at the capital until the American Minister told them to go without permit, and he would be responsible for the consequences. The writer was absolutely refused permission to go to Erzerum to assist with relief work in 1895, but a fellow missionary, a British subject, was able to go

because his Ambassador demanded the permission so peremptorily that the authorities did not think it wise to refuse. The restrictions on the travel of native ecclesiastics and colporteurs have also been great.

"Places of worship and schools have been closed because they were opened without an Imperial Firman, and to secure the desired Firman has been difficult or impossible. Missionaries, when buying real estate, have been required to give a pledge that it would not be used for a church or a school. A Protestant congregation in Constantinople purchased a most desirable site for the erection of a church twenty-nine years ago, and the permission to build has not yet been given!"[28]

Convert biographies contain abundant evidence of the use of one device after another to prevent proselytism until finally there is a spasm of force and violent persecution. Even from Japan we hear of the old tactics of packing Christian celebrations with boisterous disturbers to break up meetings.*

The most direct form taken by this counter-attack upon Christian propaganda is the use of force. Page after page of early, and even recent, missionary biography thrills with narrow escapes or cruel murders at the hands of cannibals of the Pacific Islands, with enraged attacks by Chinese mobs or Japanese groups on "foreign devils," with fanatical outbursts of Mohammedam persecution, with furtive and vengeful tracking down of Mohammedan and Hindu converts by those whom they forsook for the sake of Christianity and final poisoning or murdering of the offenders.†

With the rise of world diplomacy and the safe-guarding of European and American nationals through international protection,[29] *much* of the "lawless" violence upon "foreigners" of any vocation seems to have ceased. By treaty their persons be-

*Such an incident is reported in *The Far East* for November 27, 1920, p. 185. It occurred at the Jubilee Congress of the Japanese Christian Salvation Army, and is laid at the door of the Buddhist Salvation Army. See also Cary, (A), II, 160b, 178b, 231ff., 244e-246d, 248d, 269e-270a.

†For a typical instance of calculated and planned assassination of one suspected of being a Christian in Japan, under the very eyes of foreign diplomatic representatives, see Cary, (A), II, 68-69. For a fairly typical instance of poisoning a convert from Islam, see Jessup, 138-143.

came safe from attack, in most countries, but their activities often had to be greatly curtailed.

> Take Japan, for instance: A letter written in 1861 gives a summary of what missionaries are allowed to do in Japan at that time. The work is confined chiefly to the study of the Japanese language, the sale of scientific, geographical, historical, and religious books written in Chinese (therefore readable by the educated Japanese) by missionaries in China, and the sale of books in English to those few Japanese who cared to learn English. Conversion to Christianity was punishable with death to oneself and family.[30]
>
> "In a historical sketch prepared for the Missionary Conference held at Osaka in 1883, Dr. Verbeck quoted as follows from various reports that described the conditions under which the early missionaries laboured:
>
> " 'The missionaries soon found that they were regarded with great suspicion and closely watched, and all intercourse with them was conducted under strict surveillance.
>
> " 'No teacher could be obtained at Kanagawa until March, 1860, and then only a spy in the employment of the Government. A proposal to translate the Scriptures caused his frightened withdrawal.
>
> " 'The efforts of the missionaries for several years, owing to the surveillance exercised by the Government, were mostly confined to the acquisition of the language.
>
> " 'We found the natives not at all accessible touching religious matters. When such a subject was mooted in the presence of a Japanese, his hand would almost involuntarily be applied to his throat to indicate the extreme perilousness of such a topic.' "[31]

Again, in spite of guarantees of protection, the means of preserving order are not always adequate to prevent local attacks in many regions of Africa, the Levant, and Asia. In pure Mohammedan, Lamaist, and other countries where protection has not been demanded under treaty, the misssionary societies know only too well that direct propaganda will bring swift extermination of their agents.

> "Vast territories have been closed to the missionary enterprises for political reasons, often based upon or accentuated by religious antagonism. Tibet still forbids entrance to the Christian missionary. The two independent kingdoms of Nepal and Bhutan, lying along the northern frontier of India, are generally

> considered closed to the missionary. Certain native States, representing smaller areas in India, either have no resident missionary or are wholly untouched by any missionary work because of political prohibitions, for example, the Tributary States of Surguja, Jashpur, Korea and Chang Bhakar and the Independent State of Tippera. In Afghanistan religious fanaticism unites with political authority in excluding all Christian missionary effort. In sections of Arabia and of Northern Africa a similar exclusion of Christian missions is supposed to obtain."[32]

Japan and China are too readily assumed to be exceptions in this matter of religious intolerance and ferocity. *The Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* contain articles on religious persecution in India and Islam but none on religious persecution in the Far East. Jan Jakob M. De Groot's two volumes on *Sectarianism and Religious Persecution in China* should be used to balance up this perspective. H. B. Morse in his three volume work on *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire* gives authoritative summaries of riots, massacres and other disturbances aimed at Christian missions which came to be of national or diplomatic significance during the past century. Until about 1875, Japanese proscription and persecution of Protestant Christianity showed the same tendencies as it did in China.[33] It seems fair to assume that the masses in Japan, China, and India are just about as susceptible to the instigation of provacateurs as they have proved in the past. The question, then, resolves itself into one of mob leadership, and overhead influences.

The Western colonial powers which regard law and order as a matter of necessity and pride, also may apply compulsion in an effective manner. The representatives of the British Government in India absolutely prohibited Christian missionaries, even British missionaries, from landing or operating in India for a number of years, and have given substantial support to opposing religions.[34] Lord Cromer's preferment of Islam in Egypt has brought bitter comment from missions there. The authorities of the French Government in Madagascar and Africa have continually prevented or harassed Protestant missionary effort by

legal restrictions; at times bringing to ruin the results of years of independent and hard work.[35]

In summarizing the more recent limitations of different governments, a writer stated in 1919 that,

> "As a result of these and, it may be, other causes, recent years have witnessed a growing restriction of missionary freedom and many fresh regulations limiting opportunities which Christian missions have enjoyed in the past. Among other illustrations may be cited the Japanese regulations in Korea prohibiting all religious teaching and religious ceremonies in schools; the new policy of the British government in regard to missionaries of alien nationality; the proposal in India to introduce a conscience clause; the educational ordinance in Rhodesia to which reference has been made and similar tendencies in other African colonies; and the probability that the Berlin Act of 1885, to which missionaries in the Belgian and Portuguese Congo as well as in other parts of the continent have frequently had to appeal in defence of their liberties, will be replaced by some new international instrument in regard to which there is as yet no guarantee that it will contain an equally clear recognition of missionary freedom."[36]

Of these instances, at least the British policy toward German missionaries[37] and Japanese regulations of Korean missions are certainly not prompted by local native resentment against the innovating religionists. Obviously each case must be judged upon its own merits. Yet there can be no doubt that one of the main purposes, for instance, of English colonial representatives in favoring the non-Christian rather than the Christian religion in Egypt and India, has been the allaying of potential or actual religious fanaticism, antagonism, and opposition.

Japan and Moslem countries have afforded instances where missionaries were permitted residence through international compulsion while *converts were subject to severe punishment or the death penalty.*

The biographer of Verbeck of Japan writes:

> "All over the land in city, town, and village, by ferry and in market, we must remember the anti-Christian edicts hung with the other ko-satsu, or little notice boards in plain view of all. We give the text of 1862:
>
> " 'The Christian religion has been prohibited for many years. If any one is suspected, a report must be made at once.

" 'REWARDS.

" 'To the informer of a *bateren* (father), 500 pieces of silver.

" 'To the informer of an *iruman* (brother), 300 pieces of silver.

" 'To the informer of a Christian who once recanted, 300 pieces of silver.

" 'To the informer of a Christian or catechist, 300 pieces of silver.

" 'To the informer of a family who shelters any of the above, 300 pieces of silver.

" 'The above rewards will be given. If any one will inform concerning his own family, he will be rewarded with 500 pieces of silver, or according to the information he furnishes. If any one conceals an offender, and the fact is detected, then the head man of the village in which the concealer lives, and the 'five-men-company' to which he belongs, and his family and relatives, will all be punished together.'

"Seeing that he could not openly preach the gospel, Mr. Verbeck was diligently disposing of Bibles in Chinese, which the educated samurai or wearers of two swords could read. Under his oversight, two young officers were already diligently perusing this version of the Bible and trying to understand it."[38]

5. CONNIVANCE AND PASSIVE CO-OPERATION

(Responses of Passive Receptivity)*

The Brahma Somaj of India is an outstanding instance of a sect which has arisen during the nineteenth century in spirited defense of certain Oriental traditions, and which, at the same time, has acknowledged its assimilation of things Western and Christian. Some of its leaders have been in cordial relations with Protestant missionaries at different periods in its history, and at times have given such high praise to Jesus that their own people have accused them of being Christian.

Ram Mohan Roy, the founder of the Brahma Somaj, whom Farquhar ventures to declare the "pioneer of all living advance,

*There is little need, for our present purposes, of going into the complex situations in different parts of the world, characterized by official toleration, legal recognition, and religious neutrality on the part of governments. Instead we offer concrete illustrations from more easily defined situations.

religous, social and educational, in the Hindu community during the nineteenth century," says, as quoted by Farquhar:

> " 'The consequence of my long and uninterrupted researches into religious truth has been that I have found the doctrines of Christ more conducive to moral principles, and better adapted for the use of rational beings, than any other which have come to my knowledge.' In order to give practical effect to this conviction he published in 1820 a very remarkable volume, *The Principles of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness* being a series of extracts from the Gospels."[39]

The beliefs of the third prominent leader of the Somaj, Keshab Chunder Sen, if anything, seem even more like those of traditional Protestant Christianity. His followers declared themselves Trinitarians! Says a Christian missionary critic:

> " . . . Keshab's richest religious experience came from Christ, and in consequence, in the latter part of his life, his deepest theological beliefs were fully Christian, but he never surrendered himself to Christ as Lord. He retained the government of his life in his own hands. I also believe that this is the only way in which we can explain the spiritual experience of his friend and biographer, Pratap Chandra Mozoomdar, and of two or three others of the missionaries [of the Somaj].
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "Mr. P. C. Mozoomdar, one day, had a long unhurried conversation with a friend of the writer, a missionary in the North. In the course of the talk my friend gave expression to the deepest convictions of his Christian life. Mr. Mozoomdar assured him that his own faith, and Keshab's also, was precisely the same, and said that the reason why he and Keshab did not give public expression to these beliefs was that they held they would be more likely to bring their fellow-countrymen to full faith in Christ by a gradual process than by a sudden declaration of all they believed."[40]
>
> "Some eleven or twelve years ago, in a brief article, I had ignorantly spoken of all Brahmas as Unitarians. In a courteous note, the only letter I ever received from Mr. Mozoomdar, he protested against the statement so far as the Church of the New Dispensation was concerned, declaring himself and his fellow-believers to be Trinitarians. During the last twenty years articles have frequently appeared in the pages of *Unity and the Minister* (a weekly published under the New Dispensation), which, if taken seriously from the standpoint of theology, undoubtedly imply the full Christian faith. My own personal

intercourse with several of the leaders would also tend to prove that they had learned from Keshab to regard Christ as the Son of God and the Saviour.

"Yet, so far as my experience and reading reach, there is no evidence that these men ever allowed their faith to rule their life. There was never the full surrender of the soul to the Saviour. There was something that restrained."[41]

The published history of the Brahma Somaj in two volumes, the biographical studies and the speeches of these two leaders, and the facts presented in the different sets of the Indian Census, afford good succinct material for an extended case study not only in the assimilation of certain Christian elements but in a general attitude of tolerance and of passive receptivity.

Synthesis of indigenous and exotic religions combined with an open tolerant attitude is not confined to periods* of Brahma Somaj history. Similar movements have developed out of the reform tendency in other large groups.

". . . Early in life Syed Ahmad Khan openly abandoned the charge, which is so often made by orthodox Muhammadans, that Christians have seriously corrupted the text of the Old and New Testaments. He urged his fellow-believers that they should not consider Christians as Kafirs and enemies, and declared that the Bible and the Koran, when rightly understood, did not contradict one another. Readers will note how closely his position approximates to the teaching of Ram Mohan Roy. The resemblance in many respects is very striking: The Hindu leader published *The Precepts of Jesus:* the Muhammadan reformer published a fragment of a Commentary on Genesis, which has been of real service in opening Muhammadan minds. He held that in the Koran, as in the Bible, we must acknowledge the presence of a human element as well as a divine."[42]

". . . There has been organized in Peking the Society for the Study of Religions, and invitations have been given to Christian scholars as well as others to lecture on Christianity . . .

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*Inevitably, in this case, there is combined with connivance and passive cooperation, an intra-group organization and passive opposition, and even competition:

"Though he seemed to revere Christ, he opposed somewhat the spread of Christianity. When many a Hindu mind had been cleared of the superstitions of ages, and prepared to receive the seed of the Gospel, in came Keshab, dispossessed the Christian missionary of the soil he had fitted for cultivation, and used it for his own purposes." Lethbridge, Appendix II, 205.

One very able article by a non-Christian defended the value of Christianity in a very interesting and convincing way."[43]

Native civil administrators and other community leaders are found in the East and in Africa who will give recognition to Christian missions and even actively cooperate with them wherever they can do so without arousing the antagonism of their constituencies.[44]

Individual laymen among Hindus and even Moslems sometimes associate with Christians, evidently entertaining the same attitude.

"A remarkable state of things is reported to us from Cuddapah, South India, as follows: 'In many villages where we have congregations, Hindus of the higher castes, and even Mohammedans, are often to be found at our services. Sometimes in visiting a village I have found so many Hindus and Mohammedans present at the service that it was hard to find room for our Christian people. In some places where we have no congregations, little companies of the higher class Hindus meet in the evenings to read the Scriptures, and join in Christian worship with a Christian convert or enquirer.' Again from North India it is reported that in rare cases there is a more or less regular attendance of those who might be called 'believing non-Christians' at church, but such conviction as stops short of baptism is generally manifested in the home by family worship, Scripture reading, Sunday observance, and the like, while the old caste customs and social relations are still maintained.

"Similarly in China many persons are more or less regular attenders at Christian worship and have a certain intelligent knowledge of the outlines of Christian truth, who are not yet prepared to take the final step of professing themselves Christians. This is due in some cases to social pressure, and, in not a few, to a recognition that they are not yet morally prepared to face the high demand of the Christian life."[45]

"The Hindu has no fanatical opposition to Christianity. *So long as he is not asked to abandon his own religion, he is quite ready to appreciate what is good in Christianity* and to listen to the teaching of the missionaries. Mr. Molony (Madras Superintendent) mentions that he has even seen a Brahman presiding at a missionary meeting, and it is well known that many Hindus have no prejudice whatever against sending their children to mission schools and colleges. In this way Christian thought influences large numbers who remain Hindus, and

Christian ideals and standards are everywhere gaining vogue. There is a growing tendency to monotheism among the educated classes throughout India. The European reader of Indian newspapers is frequently astonished at the writer's familiarity with the Bible, while no politician can fail to take note of the influence of Christian thought on social questions, such as polygamy, child marriage and the inequalities of the caste system." (Italics ours.)[46]

Speaking of the catholicity of the eminent non-Christian Indian, Ramtanu Lahiri, his biographer says:

". . . One day, while returning from his usual morning constitutional, he asked me if I would begin the day by calling on one of God's saints; and on my answering in the affirmative he took me to a Christian missionary living close by, whom he embraced most affectionately. . . . .

". . . To him Godliness was Godliness, whether found in a Hindu, Brahmo, Christian, or Muhammadan. . . . It often happened that when, on hearing that he had come to Calcutta, we tried to discover where he was, we found him a guest in some Hindu, Brahmo, or Christian house. He was at home wherever good or saintly conduct ruled."[47]

Japanese and Chinese have shown friendly interest in propagandic Christianity even though they would not join the membership of any church organization.

". . . Mr. Kiyama, Secretary of the Board of Missions of the Church of Christ in Japan, has testified that no small part of the funds collected by the board from individuals comes from former students in mission schools, including many who do not openly identify themselves with the church."[48]

In the *Japan Evangelist* for January, 1921, a Japanese book entitled *Jesus* is reviewed by a missionary. "The author, Jittoku Mushakoji, is a man well known as a literary writer, as a dramatist and novelist." Translating from the Introduction, the reviewer quotes: "He now feels that life described by Jesus is the highest life of man. . . . The God of Jesus is his God and is the God of mankind." The review is concluded by the remark that "the writer. . . is not far from the Kingdom of God."

They approve of certain things the missionaries accomplish or of certain of their beliefs, but cannot accept the conditions of membership.

And "secret believers" are a common phenomena in all countries where opposition of relatives and friends is feared.

". . . These friends did not all embrace Christianity, yet they were secret believers. One of them used to put off his sacred thread which he wore across his shoulders every time when he prayed privately at home."[49]

"I must say a few words about the little band of truth-seekers who were at this time in the Institution. It was composed of young students of all castes. One of them, a Brahman youth, had been employed along with a most talented student of the Institution, Mr. M. Moroji, as tutor to the Chief of Jamkhandi. Mr. Moroji was killed by a fall from his horse. This youth told me that Mr. Moroji had a secret faith in Christianity; that he used to pray and read the Psalms of David with him before going to bed. He used also to teach him the Christian doctrines. The effects of the instruction thus received by the young man were evident in his conduct.

". . . There were two other lads attending the school, who during the recess used to go to some quiet place and pray. When asked by their school-fellows where they had been, they used to answer they had gone to eat bread, meaning spiritual food. Another youth who was my pupil and who a long time after my baptism, died as a postmaster in the Satara district, got himself baptised by his wife, publicly declaring his faith in Christ when on his death-bed. (There was no missionary and probably no chaplain, in the station at the time.—Editor.)"[50]

If we include here those who regard Jesus as one of the highest ideals, if not the highest ideal, of mankind, but yet do not accept the Christian doctrinal and ecclesiastical aspects of missionary Christianity, we shall have to consider a number of graduates of mission schools in every country. Even such prominent native Christians as Kanzo Uchimura of Japan, trained in a Christian theological school of the West and an ardent promoter of "Japanese Christianity," comes under this heading.[51] It is very significant to find Uchimura claiming that six-tenths, at least, of those who read his magazine, *Bible Study*, published in Japan, are what church members call "unbelievers."

6. READINESS TO JOIN THE NEW GROUP

(Responses of Active Receptivity)

The outright acceptance of Christianity,—i. e., the formal joining of the recently introduced group,—is the most frequently narrated and recorded of all the responses to propaganda.

Missionary statistics and reports, missionary books and magazines, and missionary addresses give us all the data we desire. "Adherents" have been gained into the millions who are members of the groups formed by the Christian propagandists. The fact is nowhere disputed.[52] The usual error we must guard against is assuming that the term member implies a uniform psychic experience or a certain kind of social or ethical behavior: at this stage of our outline the definition must be in objective terms. Adherent or member can be depended upon to mean one thing uniformly and one thing only; viz., attachment to or entrance into the membership of a church group.

Aside from those who join the group there are vast numbers who attend regularly the missionary's schools and in other ways show more than passive receptivity toward the missionary or towards certain of his activities and beliefs. These interest us, in the present volume, only as transitional types: in a later volume, those who become actual converts will be more intensively studied.

The receptive response to the propagandists' efforts, like those of indifference, opposition, and connivance or cooperation, is not to be expected until a period of acquaintance has elapsed which may be marked by the temporary responses mentioned earlier. Every different case, and especially every different culture, is likely to exhibit its own peculiar transition from the temporary to the more permanent attitudes. Warneck summarizes what he regards as the usual process among "Animistic" peoples thus:

> "We may take the course of mission work among the Bataks as typical of modern Protestant missions among animistic peoples. When heathenism first meets Christianity it decisively rejects it. But gradually by patient, persistent work individuals are won, who, however, are thereby alienated from the national union. Ten or fifteen years elapse: then secessions increase, the strong tension between heathen and Christian is lessened, the attractive power of the Gospel increased, till whole communities, provinces and tribes pass over to the Christian camp. Today, after forty-five years' labour, the land has been partly Chris-

tianised, and the time is not far distant when the majority of the people will break with heathenism and come over to Christianity. . . The mission on Nias, almost contemporary with that to the Battaks, passed through the same development.

"There was the laborious preparatory work, and now the time is perhaps not far off when the whole island will be Christian. The mission to the Kols, the Karens, in Uganda, on the Niger, in the South sea, as well as the earlier missions in Minahassa, Ambon, etc. passed through the same experiences."[53]

There are tribes, islands, distinct sections or groups of people who have joined the propagandist's church group *in toto*. Success in some regions seems prodigious when compared to that in others. Compare, for example, the very meager results among the Mohammedans and the high-caste Hindus with this description of the results among the Koreans: in 1910 there had been "an average of one convert an hour for every hour of the day and night since the first missionary set foot on Korean soil twenty-five years ago."[54]

7. AN ILLUSTRATION: REACTIONS TO EDUCATION

(Responses of the Above Different Kinds Exhibited Together as Effects of One Particular Form of Stimulus)

The gradual growth of Christian influence among the Bataks just referred to, is not all receptivity neither is it all antagonism. Almost every propagandic effort meets a series of different responses. The history of any one of hundreds or thousands of mission stations bears this out. Yet the rough cross-section type of classification we have made, is so useful for further analysis that it seems thoroughly warranted.

In addition, however, it may be combined with the serial or linear study, as we said previously. Each of the separate agencies of propagandism such as evangelism, medical work, education, may be found, during a number of years, to arouse the whole series of responses from the mere temporary ones on through all of the permanent responses.

Take education, for instance. Those acquainted with rural parts of Asia declare that the peasants are generally *indifferent*

towards education. It is frequently observed that only when they are persistently urged do they assume more negative or positive attitudes.

From India we hear that, "Parents can hardly be induced to send girls to school."[55] Mr. A. Kruyt reports definite suspicion from Java:

> ". . . At first the population was rather distrustful of the industrial schools, but the demands for admission are now in excess of the number of available places."[56]

Testimony of this sort is easy to obtain in missionary reports of a generation ago, and even today. In city after city of China one can learn of "families who will not let their children go to mission schools because they fear they will adopt 'the doctrine' and then refuse to attend the feasts and worship the ancestors."[57] From the viewpoint of many missionaries such people are indifferent. As a matter of fact, they represent a determined *passive opposition*.

The combination of the passive with the more *active opposition* appears in the anti-missionary activities of the newer movements.

> ". . . An agitation was set on foot against the Christian missionaries at Krishnagar; and to counteract their efforts to evangelise the people Siris Chandra started a free English School."[58]

> In 1910 the Report of the *World Missionary Conference* of Edinburgh asserted:
>
> " . . It is said that both the Aryas and the Moslems in the Punjab are using every effort to prevent parents from sending their children to mission schools, . . there has been a similar boycott of Christian literature, even of school-books. Booksellers will refuse to handle anything known to be specially Christian. Members of school-book committees will decline to approve a text-book if it bears any suggestion of Christian thought; a single sentence has been sufficient to condemn even a geography.[59]

There are undoubtedly a great number who range from passive opposition to Christian education, to *passive cooperation* under certain circumstances.

> For example, in Southern Persia, "The opposition to the schools on the part of the Mohammedan clergy is very decided, for it is thoroughly grasped that an efficient Christian school is an enormous power for Christ. Less opposition is experienced if the schoolmaster is a European layman, if the religious instruction takes the form of daily prayer and addresses rather than of lessons, and if a monitorial system is in vogue which reduces the teaching staff to a minimum. It is generally wiser to establish a pioneer school that can be closed at a day's notice without serious loss, for the more easy it is to close a school, the less likely it is to be necessary."[60]

While refraining from obstructive tactics many in the Near East, Far East, and among the more moderate Indian Nationalists, are apparently loath to have Christian education withdrawn unless supplanted by education of a secular or more indigenous religious type.[61]

On the other hand, we hear that in Korea in 1909, "Everywhere eager boys and girls are thronging to these schools, overtaxing the accommodations."[62] In general it may be said that the schools of the Protestant propagandists in most of the world are practically in the same condition—there are enough people *accepting* their type of education to keep their schools pretty well filled.

We have now taken into perspective responses to Christian propaganda ranging from indifference to both violent opposition and overt receptivity. We have noted the different types of response in the case of a typical agency—the school. Perhaps the "evangelist" or preacher meets more casual and temporary interest, more intense scorn, more bitter resentment and more bold opposition than the educator—and at times more ardent loyalty. A doctor, too, though he is the most universally admired of the agents of Christianity, evokes the entire range of responses from indifference to hearty appreciation and love. The facts of the variety of the reactions is undeniable. Our interest now lies in the reason for one response rather than another.

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CHAPTER II

THE INFLUENCE OF THE NATIVE GROUP

(The More Permanent Responses as Conditioned by the Nature of the Subject's Group and Group Relationships)

When we examine a large number of cases for future analysis and try to classify them, we begin to see certain factors that may account, in part at least, for difference in the responses. Some responses seem to be immediate and definite, such as a sick person coming to a mission hospital for treatment, or such as Japanese youths coming to Y. M. C. A. Bible classes in Tokio to acquire a knowledge of English. From them we are liable to assume without a second thought that *all* responses are due solely to the immediate condition of the individual subject affected. And the available records made by the Protestant Christian propagandists may be particularly liable to overemphasize the individual because of their sects' professed belief in individual responsibility, bequeathed to them from Luther's time.

The interpretation is by no means adequate, if taken as ordinarily understood. For, some responses seem to be determined from behind a screen, as it were, determined by a powerful unseen influence or relationship. Time and again a man's action seems to depend entirely, not upon his own immediate experience or idiosyncrasies, but upon his relationship to his family, to his religious sect, to his social class or caste, to his civil community, or to an influence running through several of these. And any interpretation which fails to account for their influence is liable to be utterly incorrect.

1. GROUPS DOMINATING THEIR MEMBERS

(Influence of Highly Organized or Complex-Culture Groups)

If there is a strong continuous influence exerted by a community or group upon the action of its individual members, that influence should be predictable. Now from the data examined by the writer, the most predictable situations seem to

be those where Christianity attempts to put a proselytizing wedge into a Mohammedan, high-caste Hindu, Lama, or Jewish community.

Christian missionaries who have gone to win members from among Mohammedan Turks during the past few generations, have had to abandon their enterprises and work among non-Moslems!

> In the Asiatic Levant, "However determinedly any mission has started out to address itself exclusively to Moslems in the past, it has been forced, as the condition of its very entrance and continuance, to affiliate itself and its work with the native Christian [i.e., Greek Christian] community. The only exception is possibly in the case of work in Independent Arabia."[1]

> ". . . .As for the territories where Mohammedanism holds sway, it is impossible to discuss the state of the Church, in so far as it is composed of Moslem converts, for the simple reason that these are in almost every case too few to allow of their being judged as a Church at all."[2]

Even the usual indirect method of educational missions has met rebuff from Moslems, and physicians sent by Christian propagandic organizations are sure to encounter vehement opposition if they are public in their evangelistic efforts. Preaching of Christianity and the abandonment of Islam for Christianity is legally punished with death in some Moslem countries; the same is true among Lamas.

> ". . . .In Morocco the death penalty for conversion from Islam to Christianity still holds. . . . ."[3]

> ". . . .Tibet still is closed against the actual residence of missionaries, although the people are being reached across its borders. In Afghanistan there is an absolute veto against any missionary entering, and there is little prospect of this changing under the present regime. A convert from Islam to Christianity is regarded, within the realms of the Amir, as having committed a capital offence, and both law and public opinion justify his execution."[4]

The cultured peoples of India exhibit something of the same attitude as the Lamas and the Mohammedans as found in Western and Central Asia. Speaking of the Aryan Hindus of India, not of hill peoples or Outcastes whose social

and religious heritage is predominantly primitive, the missionary Lucas confesses the existence of a general passive if not active opposition.

> "For the one or two who may be ready to cultivate more intimate relations with the missionary, there are thousands who are completely hostile in their attitude, or at least suspicious and unsympathetic."[5]

Most important verification of this resisting power of Mohammedanism and Hinduism comes from the official censuses of India. For example, according to the census for 1911, the only fresh converts between the major religions are those from Hinduism to Christianity and the Arya Somaj, and they are comprised mostly of low caste peoples.

In one commissioner's words:

> ". . . .Conversion from Hinduism to Islam is rare, though here there are isolated instances, usually of outcastes, and especially of women desirous of contracting an alliance with a Muhammadan lover. Conversion from Islam to Hinduism is unknown. But conversions from Hinduism to both Christianity and Aryaism [including low castes who contribute a great many of them] are extremely common; conversions from Islam to these two religions are less common, though certainly commoner than they were ten years ago, when Mr. Burn described them as infinitesimal. They usually take the form, in the case of Aryaism at all events, of the reconversion of the descendants of Hindu apostates to Islam."[6]

As to Jewish communities, their responses to Christian propaganda are in a general sense just as predictable as those of Lama, Moslem, and Hindu communities: on the whole, there is such vehement resentment to conversion that the Christian novitiate is by no means sure of his life.

> ". . . .Many of the missions [to Jews] do not aim at baptisms and incorporation into the visible Church, but at evangelization only. Others are so situated that they cannot take care of the converts in the face of persecutions and are forced to send them to other cities or countries. Many of the Jews converted under the preaching of the Gospel in a Jewish mission are afraid to let the missionary know and, changing often even the land of their abode, are baptized later in some Christian Church or in another mission. Of the Jews brought

to Christ by the reading of the New Testament or Christian literature distributed by the missionaries itinerating among the Jewish masses of Eastern Europe, a small percentage only are baptized in missions or become known to the missionaries. ([Footnote to the text:—]

"This is well illustrated by the following facts: of 1072 Jews baptized in American Churches from 1895 to 1901 only 217 were reported by American Jewish Missions. But 891, or more than 83 per cent of all, stated that they had received their first ideas of Christianity, their first New Testament or tracts, from missionaries. Of these 891, more than 65 per cent (582), had been won to Christ before they crossed the Atlantic, but probably very few of them had told the missionary of the influence that he had exerted in their case.)"[7]

The same thing, of course, may be said of the native states of India referred to earlier where Christian preaching or conversion is legally proscribed.

Taking the results of the last century's Protestant propaganda throughout the world, the facts seem to show a very small number of converts from those great religious-social or religious-social-political groups—very small indeed considering the efforts Christian propagandists have expended or were ready to expend to secure tangible results, and very small considering the much larger proportion of converts from other non-Christian peoples. The hypothesis suggested by these facts is that the culture heritage including attitudes, of such groups is the factor preventing their conversion. The choice of the individual in them does not seem to be determined by his immediate desire for the education or the other advantages the missionary brings. In fact, he seems to have almost no individual wish in the matter. His wishes seem to be made for him by the great consolidated group into which he is born.

The converts who do join the missionary's church group from these religions, come as individuals, or as a very few individuals, one at a time. Never has there been a Mohammedan mass movement.* Never a high caste Hindu mass move-

*"Conversions from the Moslem faith in India have always been individual—there has never been anything of the nature of a mass movement." (Creighton, 136.)

ment.* Never a Jewish mass movement. Never a Lama mass movement. A very different story may come from the other peoples. But in these compact groups, the individual must break away, must burst out, tearing, as it were, the living tissue that binds him to his kin and sect.

Because these great groups, when attacked on their home soil, do stand compact, almost impregnable, the strategy of the attack often is to catch their units straying, to surround and besiege those who have left or will leave the home soil. This has been particularly successful with Chinese, Japanese, and people of other cultures who are supposed to be less religious,—that is, less bound by the religious beliefs and religious bonds of extra-family groups. Migrations to another country are notoriously effective.

> Of South America, a commission reports:
>
> ". . . .the Anglicans, Wesleyans, Moravians, and Brethren have had good results in their work among the Chinese in this country, fully one-half of the Chinese population having become Christians. Of the Hindu immigrants 4200 have already been Christianised."[8]†
>
> Does it not seem equally significant that in British Malaya where the effort of the foreign missionary societies has practically no results to show among the native residents, "All of them have gathered congregations from among the Tamil and Chinese immigrants, and look upon the care of these as their chief work." Later on the same report says: "The work of the Methodist Episcopal Church with its 2000 Christians, that

*About the closest thing to it is a rare occurrence of the following sort: Chatterjee, himself the initiator of it, says:

"At the end of 1873, a general awakening took place among our hearers. . . lasted for nearly ten years. It began at Ghorawaha, and soon extended . . . . In the course of it hundreds came forward and confessed Christ to be the only Saviour of men. Twenty-nine families of respectable Hindus and Mohammedans received baptism and joined the Christian Church. Many of them are still alive. . . . .Six devoted themselves to the Gospel ministry. . . .

"Christianity was in great favor with men in those days, and especial unction of the spirit was given to the preacher. . . . .Non-Christian people were sometimes afraid to come near him for fear of being drawn away from their faith to Christ." (Ewing, . 57.)

In Japan, too, we find that a number of the higher classes have come over to Christianity at about the same time; but this is scarcely a mass movement.

†The Hindus referred to are presumably the lower castes, however. As to the class of Chinese, we are not sure.

of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel with 1000, and that of the English Presbyterians and 'Brethren' with a few hundreds, represent but a small beginning especially as scarcely one-tenth of these are permanent residents in the country." This is practically all the work done in British Malaya.[9]*

Removal to another part of one's own country tends to have a similar result.

Referring to removal to a different part of *China*, Mr. Sparham says:

"The Chinese are always clannish. So, in Hankow there was a 'Hunan Quarter.' And while the Hunanese at home are so hostile to Christianity, away they are among the most willing listeners to 'the doctrine.' "[10]

A correspondent to one commission reports that "the vast majority of converts to Christianity made thus far in *Japan* have been from among people for whom family restraints were somewhat loosened, either by distance or other circumstances—officials, students, clerks, for example. It is extremely difficult for a man living in his native place to become a Christian. Consequently, the farming and merchant classes have been comparatively untouched, and women are hard to reach. On the island of Hokkaido, where the population consists largely of immigrants from the other islands, Christian work has been more successful than elsewhere."[11]

". . . .Mr. Balmer points out that in parts of the West Coast of *Africa* Christianity was associated with deliverance from slavery, and with the transplanting of those who had been freed. In these countries there was such a complete break in the lives of the people that there was little or no difficulty in winning acceptance for the broad truths of the Christian religion."[12]

Residence in cities is liable to break up the exclusive grip of any previous line of influence and open up avenues to many new relationships. Here Christianity bids for a share of influence with greater chances of success than in rural communities, other things being equal.

Speaking of the two hundred million Hindus of India, a commission of the World Missionary Conference pointedly remarks:

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*Bishop Oldham of Singapore corroborates the general opinion expressed in the above quotations. *W. M. C.*, III, 437. Warneck does also—see footnote to page 139, Warneck.

". . . .Caste is universally acknowledged to be the strongest bulwark of Hinduism, and the greatest obstacle to the spread of Christianity. . . .Missionary work can, however, as yet reckon but little with it, and that only in the large towns and great centres of traffic."[13]

Speaking of Japan, however, the same commission says:

"One weakness of the Christian movement is the fact that the majority of the members of the city churches are not drawn from the permanent old residents, but from the newcomers and transients. . . .the newcomers are generally free from social opposition, and consequently easier to approach; like all pioneers, they are apt to be enterprising, and hence, when once won, make active workers."[14]

Continued residence in a school brings to the adolescent a totally new set of acquaintances, friends, heroes, and ideals to overshadow and weaken the hold of the earlier relationships, and gives innovations an opportunity.

The effect of isolation from one's home group in an educational institution will be discussed later. There is abundant evidence that it tends to have a similar effect, especially if the "atmosphere" of the school is predominantly Christian. This is true even among Mohammedans, Hindus, and Jews.

"The Rev. M. Uemura, editor of the *Fukuin Shimpo,* in an address at Nagasaki some years ago, said: 'There is no doubt much room for criticism of mission schools, but it is not to be denied that a considerable part, perhaps seven or eight-tenths, of our converts, at present, have been under their influence."[15]

". . . .considerable numbers of Brahmans and other members of the religious and intellectual aristocracy were converted to Christianity after 1830, under the magnetic influence of Dr. Duff [the great missionary educator of India], and soon afterwards also in connection with the mission colleges everywhere founded in accordance with his advice and example."[16]

Of female converts from non-Christian families in India from whom he gathered information, Annett asserts:

"According to the records which yield information on the point, only one-third had not been under the influence of the Christian school and daily Bible instruction. There is reason to believe that the proportion would be still lower among the remainder of the records. . . . ."[17]

". . . .With reference to Persia, the Rev. S. M. Jordan of Teheran states that 'the schools in our Mission have had more evangelistic results than any other department of work.' "[18]

". . . .Of the Jewish children who received Christian training in the missionary schools, many have been converted, but, in the majority of cases, were forced to postpone a public profession of their faith until they were of age. Other children had received such deep and lasting impressions, that years after they had left the missionary schools they sought and found Christ and were baptized."[19]

When by any of these means those intimate and powerful influences of family and friends, or of community, sect or caste, can be attenuated or displaced, then with increasing readiness the members of those "conservative" groups give way to the attrition of propagandic influences.

One of the motives actuating the inauguration of institutions of learning for and by Mohammedans and for and by Hindus during the last generation, seems to have been to prevent this "sinister" power from operating upon their people.*

It is worth noticing that any situation, no matter how insignificant, that isolates an individual from customary influences and allows him to come under a new set of influences for continuous or consecutive periods contains greater liability, all other things being equal, that the new influences will get a hold upon him. People in prison[20] or in other enforced idleness, people

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*The degree in which Moslem and Hindu respectively has avoided the disrupting influences of education, may account somewhat for the difference noted previously in the susceptibility they show to alien propaganda. Benton maintains:

". . . .we may profitably inquire, why the susceptibility to evil effects for religion is confined to Hindu students and does not affect Muhammadans. . . The Muslims have been very chary of subjecting their children to the risk of contagion in our schools, and they often delay their public secular education for years, in order that their religious instruction may be first attended to by private tuition or in their own maktabs (schools), thus handicapping them to some extent in the battle of life. In a community of this character public instruction may be secular without pernicious consequences. This is how Muhammadan students maintain their moral balance and continue loyal and well behaved.

"It is altogether different with the Hindu. His peculiarities are extreme receptivity and toleration of dogmas and extreme religious sensibility. . . . The Hindu Pantheon contains divinities innumerable. . . " (Benton, 31.)

who for long periods remain in mission hospitals,* are all more likely to be influenced by the propagandic forces.

Without doubt there is some important connection between the kind of response elicited by Christianity's propaganda, and the nature either of the group or of the individual's relationship to the group. So far, the hypothesis is certainly warranted that *the response tends to be unfavorable*, to be indifference or opposition, *when the individual concerned is an intimate member of a group with highly developed and complex culture.* By complex-culture groups we mean, in the light of the cases we have examined, those having the following features or culture traits: (1) a history, traditional and usually written, covering generations or centuries; (2) special rites, or at least doctrines, customs and taboos, growing out of this history and now consciously ascribed to it; (3) a sacred book or books; (4) a sense of group prestige that has survived conflict with other cultures; (5) and usually an organization of leadership outside of the immediate family, for preserving and passing on the cultus and tradition.†

*See almost any of the books on Medical Mission work for evidence.

There is considerable difference in hospitals, depending on the zeal which the workers in charge may have for immediate decision or conversion. This is seen by the following instance, which is probably an uncommon occurrence.

During three or four decades a certain doctor in China, had hardly any direct conversions in his mission hospital. One wealthy man was converted under treatment, and joined the church with his family (two or three women). Once a "genuine searcher for the truth" told him his body was not sick, but that his spirit was—so the physician turned him over to the chaplain in charge. Of this hospital, it must be said, however, its influence is well capitalized for evangelistic work: native workers use with considerable effect the fact that they have come from the mission which runs the hospital. (Informant y-1, 1919.)

†After writing the above, I have come upon McDougall's recent account of a "highly organized group." "There are five conditions of principal importance in raising mental collective life to a higher level than the unorganized crowd can reach," he says. They are:

(1) "some degree of *continuity of existence of the group*";

(2) "*self-consciousness of the group mind*"—i.e., a situation such "that in the minds of the mass of the members of the group shall be formed some adequate idea of the group, of its nature, composition, functions, and capacities, and of the individuals to the group";

(3) "*interaction of the group with other similar groups* animated by different ideals and purposes, and swayed by different traditions and customs";

(4) "*a body of traditions and customs and habits* in the minds of the members of the group determining their relations to one another and to the group as a whole";

(5) "*organization of the group*, consisting in the differentiation and specialization of the functions of its constituents." (Italics mine.) McDougall, (A), 68-70.

For practical purposes, we shall speak of a group having these characteristics, as a "*complex-culture group.*"

We lay down the hypothesis, then, that *a complex-culture group tends to resist the attempt of another group to win over its members to membership in that other group.* And, as corollary, that *when the influence of the well-organized group upon any member is weakened by any means,—i.e., when an individual is virtually de-organized from his group,—there is more possibility, other things being equal, of his being won over by outside propagandic effort.* Whether or not these individuals are temperamentally of a more active or investigative type than those ensconced in their own original home community and social milieu, is a pertinent question. Those who travel or migrate of their own accord, probably are; those who are "contracted out" as laborers or who follow friends and relatives, may not be. In all cases we assume that the personal equation including the peculiarities both of congenital capacities and habitual interests, is also a factor to be taken into consideration.

2. GROUPS WEAKENING BEFORE THE ALIEN
(Influence of Loosely Organized or Simple-Culture Groups)

Reference was made above to the fact that certain missionaries to the Moslem Levant had transferred their activities to the non-Moslem population; i.e., to the mixed peoples and the adherents of the Greek Christian Church. In the same way, Mr. Lucas reminds us, the missionary movement to India just naturally shifted the center of its attack from the stolid Aryan Hindus composing the higher castes, to the hill tribes and outcastes. Why? Because these people are more susceptible to Christian effort.

They are susceptible to any powerful outside group, to any religious-social propaganda of highly organized culture groups. From the history of Hinduism, from the reports of the different Christian and non-Christian religious bodies, from the recent censuses of India, we find facts and figures to show that where Hinduism has come in contact with Animists, it has Hinduized them.

". . . .the universal rule is that they are most common in the remote upland tracts which are, or were until recently, comparatively difficult of access. In the open plains they have nearly all been submerged in Hinduism. Thus in the hills to which they have given their name the Khonds are still purely Animistic but those of the Puri district have all become Hinduized. Many similar instances could be given."[21]

When Mohammedanism has vigorously propagandised them, even those partially influenced by Hinduism, it has "converted" them.

"Bengal contributes twenty-four millions, or thirty-six per cent to the total number of Muhammadans in India. They are found chiefly in the eastern and northern districts. In this tract there was a vigorous and highly successful propaganda in the days of the Pathan kings of Bengal. The inhabitants had never been fully Hinduized, and at the time of the first Muhammadan invasions most of them probably professed a debased form of Buddhism. They were spurned by the high-class Hindus as unclean, and so listened readily to the preaching of the Mullahs, who proclaimed the doctrine that all men are equal in the sight of Allah, backed as it often was, by a varying amount of compulsion."[22]

When Christianity has been offered them, there has been little resistance.

"As regards social position the masses in India may again be roughly divided into three groups. There are the loosely organised clans of the hill and forest tribes, whose primitive social conditions form no great obstacle to the advance of Christianity, and place no particular difficulties in the way of those who embrace the Christian religion. . . . ."[23]

Another huge country exhibiting this same sort of thing is Africa. It is an open contest there between Mohammedanism and Christianity. Neither meets with any serious resistance to its propaganda. Everyone takes it for granted that whoever gets to the so-called primitive people of Africa first, may call them theirs.

Speaking of "that congeries of tribal beliefs and practices summed up under the names of Animism and Fetichism," the Report says:

"Their opposition to Christianity is of the weakest; it has nothing in it of the pride or fanaticism of Islam, and opposes no adamantine social barrier such as that of caste in India. . . There are, indeed, vested interests of darkness to be overcome, but the field is one where, as in Uganda and Livingstonia, rapid and widespread triumphs of the Gospel are possible."[24]

"The absorption of native races into Islam is proceeding rapidly and continuously in practically all parts of the continent. The Commission has had convincing evidence of this fact brought to its attention by missionaries along the Nile, in East Central Africa, in South-East Africa, on different parts of the West Coast, in Northern Nigeria, in the Sudan, in different parts of the Congo Basin, in parts lying south of the Congo, and even in South Africa. Mohammedan traders are finding their way into the remotest parts of the continent, and it is well known that every Mohammedan trader is more or less a Mohammedan missionary. The result of this penetration of the field by these representatives of Islam will be that the Christian missionary enterprise will year by year become more difficult. Paganism is doomed. Animistic faiths crumble quickly before any higher and more dogmatic religion. Either Christianity or Islam will prevail throughout Africa. Islam is pushing hard to win the pagan states and peoples."[25]

Along the fringes of these larger countries and in the Pacific Islands this same susceptibility may be found, with certain interesting exceptions.

As to the Dutch East Indies:

" . . .Of these aborigines, only, some eight or nine millions are left in the whole Archipelago, mostly inland tribes difficult of access—Islam having occupied almost everywhere the easily accessible coast districts. It is these tribes, which stand very low in the scale of civilization, are in part notorious cannibals, and hang but loosely together, that are most open to the Gospel. As early as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the missionary activities of the Dutch East Indian Company had notable results among these tribes, especially on Ambon. In the nineteenth century the Alifurs in Minahassa and the Battaks on Sumatra after a brief resistance responded to the Gospel with remarkable readiness, and an abundant harvest has been the result. The same process is now going on among the Alifurs of Halmahera and the Toradjaes of Central Celebes (Posso

District). Others again, like the Dayaks on Borneo, and the Papuans in Dutch New Guinea, have proved inaccessible to the Gospel for more than half a century, but recently the Papuans have been manifesting ready response."[26]

Speaking of Polynesia and Micronesia, the Report asserts: ". . . .Whole islands have accepted Christianity *en masse*, and the native Church has developed a high standard of Christian life and Church organization. There have been, and still are, occasional relapses and days of difficulty."[27]

(The exceptions noted should be thoroughly examined, to see if they necessitate a re-statement of the principle which the other cases substantiate).

Korea is a national unit of people whose organization was notoriously weak. And that is the country which has become Christian wholesale, as it were.

A Commission of the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference, reporting in 1910, said:

". . . .Korea is perhaps the most attractive and responsive field in heathenism today. The old civilization, with its accompanying beliefs, customs, and practices, is thoroughly disorganised. A new Korea is emerging under our eyes. . . . No agency competing for the attention of the nation has been able to dislodge Christianity from its premier position."[28]

"Three great faiths have gripped the Korean in the past—Confucianism, Buddhism, and spirit worship. . . .But even before the coming of the missionaries the hold of these religions had become visibly loosened. In 1892 a Korean prince, speaking of his belief that Christianity would become the dominant faith of his people, declared that Confucianism had been practically dead in Korea for three hundred years, no really great exemplar of its teachings and practice having arisen during that period. Buddhism was, until recent years, under the ban of the law, and its priests and nuns regarded as of the abject classes. Spirit worship, while said to be as strong in this land as anywhere in Asia has been relegated to the women. There has, therefore, been an absence of that organized opposition to the teaching of Christianity, which would have been the case had the Korean religious faiths been instinct with life, and in a position to set up an antagonism to Christianity."[29]

"With the breaking down of old customs and conditions in Korea, there has been an increased turning of all classes to the Christian faith. . . The Imperial family has always

> been friendly to Christianity, and during recent years many of the old Yangban, or nobility, have found their way into the Christian faith; so that Christianity now has secured a foothold in every social class."[30]

It is the same story: the less organized or weakly organized fall before the highly organized or well-integrated groups.

It will be apparent throughout our study that it is among the more "primitive" peoples of the world that Christian propagandists have counted their thousands of converts. Africa, the Islands of the Pacific, the lower castes and outcastes of India—among the peoples of these lands, "mass movements" bring in whole tribes or castes at once.[31] Yet even among these, as we saw in the exceptions noted above, some do not capitulate for a long while. Organization and solidarity differ greatly among them. The *Census of India* referred to the difficulty Hinduism had in converting the Animists in the hills and uplands, for instance; it is quite pertinent that among these folk "the tribal organization remains more or less intact."[32] We are not pressing our analysis of what constitutes a highly organized or complex-culture group, for our purpose in this chapter is merely to indicate that there is a close connection between the historic solidarity, the technique of authority, and the prestige, of a group in which one happens to be born and reared, and the kind of response one is likely to make to propagandic forces. Further analysis and conclusions require more specialized data.

It is worth while noting, however, that group solidarity and the degree to which the individual is integrated in a social organization, are sometimes affected by economic and social levels. In a very real way the characteristics which we mentioned as true of well-organized groups seem to be lacking among the poor and illiterate, especially among the abject poor and illiterate of the Orient. Obviously the crux of the matter is the degree to which they have the elements of organization, or, of the complex culture matrix—the degree to which, for example, they feel

that they are the honored custodians of a great tradition, maintain a prestige that has survived conflict, feel that they have a share in the organization for preserving or passing on their culture, etc. If they prove, upon more thorough analysis, to be deficient in the essentials of permanent solidarity, and if, furthermore, they respond to propaganda as do the tribal peoples of India and Africa, an important corollary will be verified for the principle developed in this chapter.

Much data gathered by anthropologists, travellers, administrators, and missionaries is available for ascertaining the economic and social level of some groups. With regard to the response they make to actual propaganda, it may be said with little fear of contradiction that at least in Asiatic countries, which are supposed to have complex cultures, the poor are far more ready to listen and far more numerous in accepting the new teaching than those with greater resources. In Japan the early missionary emphasis on education led to converts among the Samurai; since then, those desiring western education have turned more to their own westernized schools and the church has operated more among the poorer classes. "In China Jesus' primary law, 'To the poor the gospel is preached,' has most widely prevailed, largely because the higher classes were practically inaccessible until the present decade dawned."[33] In India the lower castes and outcastes who have comprised those going over to Christianity in any numbers, comparatively speaking, are poor indeed.

In India there has also been a strikingly patent situation among the so-called middle classes. Aroused to self-consciousness, whole castes are endeavoring to gain a higher status. Some, by supplanting the Brahmans with priests of their own; some, by claiming descent from one of the twice-born castes of Manu; some, by joining Christianity, Islam, or a reform Hindu sect.

> To quote the *Census of India*, "there is at the present day a very strongly marked tendency among the many castes not quite at the top of society which might very well induce their members to join the Samaj. This is the tendency to claim

direct descent from one of the twice born castes of Manu—usually the Kashatriya, occasionally the Brahman, least commonly the Vaishya—which is inspired primarily by a desire to rise in the social scale."[34]

"There is a tendency today among a fairly large section of the middle classes to try to find a Hinduism which does not include Brahminism. This is most marked among those classes which have suffered from the domination of the Brahmins. I was reading the other day an account of a ceremony among the non-Brahmins where no Brahmin priest was present. It was the final ceremony to remove pollution which usually required a Brahmin priest. Tamil devotional songs were sung by professional religious singers, each holding a sugar-cane and cocoanut in his hands, before a picture of Krishna, and the necessary ceremonies performed by non-Brahmins alone."[35]

In all cases a deficiency of opportunity and prestige, of possessions and status, is at the bottom of the susceptibility to change.

Whether or not a religious group or any group of people have the heritage and attitudes which may be called highly organized, may not appear upon its first contact with a propagandic group. Even the more primitive groups do not give way at once, as Warneck says. It may require a few years, maybe a couple of generations. With more complex peoples it takes much longer. Any contact may be symptomatic. Foreign military and political relations and economic exploitation are noted for straining and testing group organization.* But continuous religious propaganda by itself soon discloses whether or not a given group has the essentials of persistent solidarity. After continuous persecution of missionary agents during a number of years, primitive peoples of certain Pacific islands have accepted Christianity in large numbers. Effort among Mohammedans covering several generations on the other hand, has been almost barren of converts. This is the sort of comparison that yields results.

*"Of course, if we have to do with a primitive society on the down-grade—and very few that have been 'civilizaded,' as John Stuart Mill terms it, at the hands of the white man are not on the down-grade—its disorganized and debased custom no longer serves a vital function." Marett, (A), 214.

The temporary opposition of certain peoples is no more deceiving than the temporary concessions of others. It is common knowledge that Indians once left Hinduism for reasons that since have lost their weight—the reformer's "historical" attitude toward the old faith has greater plausibility and has prevented many a member from breaking over into "atheism" or into Christianity during recent years. A similar cycle of facts may be found among Moslems, Buddhists, Taoists, and Confucianists. The type of Buddhism with which early Japanese converts to Christianity were acquainted, was decidedly different from the philosophically buttressed Buddhism known to the thinking young men of Japan today. The fact is that it was a number of years before the social and religious groups of India, not to speak of other countries, were sufficiently aroused from their natural complacency to make either a rebuttal to Christian criticism or an organized adjustment to Christian and Western innovations. In accounting for the temporary "weakness" of these groups, one needs to take into account, on the one hand, the tendency of young men in any group to welcome new ideas and experiences, and on the other hand, the time and effort required for a group with habitual techniques, (i) to face new crucial situations, (ii) to evaluate them, and (iii) to adopt or develop new technique to meet them. Until self-protective devices are discussed further[36] we simply offer a warning against assumptions (such as the predictions of the collapse of Hinduism and Islam) which go beyond available data.

As a tentative conclusion from the susceptibility of the loosely organized groups to exotic propagandic effort, therefore, we feel warranted in adopting this hypothesis: That, other things being equal, *the less organized (or, simple-culture) groups are, the less able are they to resist the attempts of highly organized, or, complex-culture, groups to win over their members to the adoption of the other group's culture.*

3. EFFECT OF PREVIOUS "CONVERSION"

(Influence of Previous Re-organization into a New Group)

The powerful antagonistic groups are sometimes just as quick as Christianity to take advantage of the susceptibility of loosely organized groups. When they do so, their converts form a class whose reactions to propagandic Christianity seem almost as predictable as their own. This was implied in the evidence that, generally speaking, whichever of the higher religions first reached such groups, could call them its converts. Referring to the Mohammedan religion thus accepted by the people of Africa, a commission of the Edinburgh Conference says, "Once received, it is Christianity's most formidable enemy."[37] The same commission has no doubt that if the aboriginal tribes in the hill districts of India "and the outcastes become merged in the Hindu system, they will be much less accessible to Christian influences than they are at present."[38] Of the depressed and hill tribes of India recently won over to Islam, it asserts: "It is many fold more difficult to reach them now for Christianity than it was before."[39] There seems no doubt, then, that conversion to these higher religions acts as a sort of serum inoculation, figuratively speaking, immunizing its subjects to other religions. It is brought about through re-organizing the religio-cultural aspects of individuals' lives.

The converts to Christianity, from the point of view of the non-Christian, are just as much re-organized as converts to any other faith. They, therefore, present parallel data with just as pertinent implications as the latter. Material examined by the writer indicates that the Mohammedans, reform Hindus, and other propagating groups regard it just as difficult or hopeless to try to win over Christian converts from the primitive peoples of Africa and India as the Christians do to win over primitive tribes which have been converted to the Mohammedan or Hindu faiths. This, indeed, accounts for much of the feverish

haste shown in India to oppose Christianity and to anticipate further accretions to Christianity, by drawing lower castes into indigenous non-Christian movements.

Instances are recorded in the history of Christian missions, however, where converts have deserted their recently acquired Christianity, either for another religion, or for their own previous faith.

> In 1915, Robinson, the historian of Protestant missions, stated:
>
> "The words which one of the C. M. S. missionaries wrote in 1868, on the mission of the jubilee commemoration of the C. M. S. Mission in Ceylon, apply to the work of all the existing societies. He wrote:
>
> " 'A more arduous task, a more trying field of labour, it would be difficult to imagine. . . .Pure Buddhists and Hindus are tenfold more accessible than are the thousands of relapsed and false professors of Christianity. . . .The tradition preserved in native families of the fact that their forefathers were once Christians and afterwards returned to Buddhism is naturally regarded by them as a proof of the superiority of the latter religion; whilst the sight of churches, built by the Dutch but now gone to ruin, adds strength to the belief that Christianity is an upstart religion which has no vitality, and which, if unsupported by the ruling powers, cannot stand before their own venerated system.'
>
> "During the years which have elapsed since these words were written, Christianity has made considerable progress, but the missions have not yet got rid of the handicap created by the religious history of the past centuries."[40]

These should be studied with great care. Fierce persecution by former co-religionists has been effective in inducing some converts to renounce their new faith; but, on the other hand, the history of Christian martyrdom during the nineteenth century shows persecution to be totally ineffective in many and notable cases.[41]

Do the desertions from the ranks of Christian converts vitiate the plausible presumption that converts to the great compact religious groups, such as Mohammedanism, Hinduism, and Christianity, resist the further disorganization of alien propaganda? In answering the question we must consider also the converts from Hinduism to Mohammedanism and Aryanism,

mentioned earlier, and other similar phenomena. In view of this data the writer again sets forth from evidences at hand, the hypothesis that converts to Mohammedanism, Hinduism, Christianity, Buddhism, and, in fact, to all groups, will tend to resist efforts to win them away from their new affiliations to the degree to which they have become well integrated into complex group organization and life, as previously defined; i.e., to the degree to which they have actually shared the elements of highly organized group solidarity or been controlled by the group.

The leaders of these different religious propagandic movements would agree with this hypothesis—each with regard to those who deserted their own ranks! One point they usually make, seems valid, being implied in our hypothesis; viz., that susceptibility of a convert to outside influence is often accompanied by a relatively superficial integration into their new life and mores. The history of Christian preaching in the mission field during the nineteenth century certainly bears them out, in the large. Moreover, the effect of revival or re-invigoration of the less cultured members of their own people, has yielded significant results among Confucianists, Buddhists, Hindus and Mohammedans, as well as Christians. By making operative among their less integrated members certain elements of group organization and solidarity, they have fortified them much more effectively against foreign propagandists.

> "From the beginning of the last century the Chinese have been the object of missionary attention [in the Dutch East Indies] . . . .the Chinese in these regions (on Java especially) claim special attention, since for a long time they have proved more accessible than the native Mohammedan population. As a result of the awakening of the East, and the rise of Chinese patriotism and of a semi-political Neo-Confucianism, the former responsiveness of these Chinese is now changing into an attitude of greater reserve toward Christianity."[42]

> In Ceylon, "There is little opposition to Christianity among the masses. The time is ripe for a great spiritual awakening. In Colombo and its neighborhood, owing to the revival of Bud-

dhism, the outlook is not so bright."[43] Such facts as these tend to corroborate the hypothesis above, not discredit it.

4. CONCLUSION AS TO GROUP INFLUENCE

(The Effect of Group Organization upon Response)

The problem which we confronted in this chapter was the tendency of organization to influence the individual in his response to propaganda. We have attempted merely to call attention to the fact that there is a significant connection between one's integration with a certain kind of group organization, on the one hand, and one's response to any kind of propagandic effort, on the other. Other things being equal, the more complex and established the group, the greater the resistance to the propaganda; and, other things being equal, integration of a member of a less organized group into any new and more powerful group, seems to make him less accessible for further propagandic influences. These principles seem to operate freely in the reactions to the impact of Protestant Christian propaganda in foreign countries. Inferences of greater detail require data of a more comprehensive and exhaustive nature.*

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

1. *W. M. C.*, I, 176; see also I, 176e-177a, 185.
2. *Ibid.*, I, 335; see also III, 234e.
3. *Ibid.*, I, 216.
4. *Ibid.*, I, 199.
5. Lucas, 103. Also *W.M.C.*, III, 22.
6. *Census of India*, 1911, XV, Part I, 111.
7. *W. M. C.*, I, 275.
8. *Ibid.*, I, 249.
9. *Ibid.*, I, 112, 113.
10. Bentley, 63.
11. *W. M. C.*, IV, 87; see also 230.
12. *Ibid.*, III, 197.
13. *Ibid.*, I, 138.
14. *Ibid.*, I, 57.
15. *Christian Movement in the Japanese Empire*, 1904, 31.
16. Richter, 413-414.
17. Annett, 82-3.

*One critic of this chapter has raised the question "whether primitive group life is not, on the whole, more fully organized and the individual more fully integrated into the group, than is the case with larger groups." In a sense, yes. But the organization among primitive men is more "simple," less "complex." Granting that the terms "highly" organized and "complex" culture are inadequate, yet, defined as we have defined them, their use is borne out by the data presented.

We seem to need terms here which indicate two things: first, the fact that primitive group bonds are the more fragile; and, second, that certain other groups have forces which make for more permanent solidarity. If such terms are forthcoming, we hold no brief for ours.

18. *W. M. C.*, III, 222.
19. *Ibid.*, I, 275.
20. Hardy, 214-215.
    Nelson, 90 ff.
    Tokichi Ishii, especially 75ff.
21. *Census of India*, 1911, I, Part I, 130-131.
22. *Ibid.*, 1911, I, Part I, 128.
23. *W. M. C.*, I, 138.
24. *Ibid.*, I, 207-208.
25. *Ibid.*, I, 21.
26. *Ibid.*, I, 117.
27. *Ibid.*, I, 129.
28. *Ibid.*, I, 80.
29. *Ibid.*, I, 73.
30. *Ibid.*, I, 77-78.
31. See below chap. xiii, section 3, on "Mass Movements and Suggestion."
32. *Census of India*, 1911, I, Part I, 122.
33. *W. M. C.*, I, 94.
34. *Census of India*, 1911, XV, Part I, 139.
35. Popley, "The Middle Classes of South India," *I. R. M.*, VII (1918), 299.
36. See chap. vii. The whole subject may be elaborated in a later study.
37. *W. M. C.*, I, 20e-21c.
38. *Ibid.*, I, 17.
39. *Ibid.*, I, 19.
40. Robinson, (A), 147-148.
41. Re the martyrs in Korea, see Robinson, (A), 249. Re the Madagascar persecution after 1836, see *ibid.*, 359. Re the Onitsha group, see Jesse, page 339. The martyrs in the Chinese Boxer movements are note-worthy. Etc.
42. *W. M. C.*, I, 115-116.
43. *Ibid.*, I, 166.

CHAPTER III

FIRST IMPULSIVE REACTIONS

(Analysis of Some Initial Responses)

Protestant Christian propaganda, as we have now seen, has elicited from non-Christians a whole range of more or less permanent reactions, from indifference on to violent rejection or ready acceptance. In many cases at least, the reaction of the individual seems to depend upon the general condition of the group to which he belongs. Indeed, the fact is that the group has an explicit or latent attitude toward alien propagandists which has a strong tendency to determine what each member will think of the propagandists and how he will act towards them, if he is in usual bona fide relations with his group. But this does not get to the root of the matter. It merely indicates that certain reactions to Christian missions will be obscured by inadequate analysis if they are examined as if due only to the condition of the individual as a separate unit. It indicates that group attitudes as well as individual responses must be analyzed per se in order to explain the different responses we have noticed. It in no way frees us from the need of analyzing the circumstances (the matrix-situation and the attendant conditions) in the case of each different reaction.

We are therefore taking up in greater detail the types of response outlined in Chapter I. Beginning with the First Impulsive Reactions, we find them in many and familiar forms.

1. RUMOR

Rumor is sure to figure in the kind of welcome a newcomer receives. When one zealous arrival at a certain place in West Africa went out to preach, he was welcomed by enormous audiences. He thanked God that they had the spiritual hunger which might be appeased through his efforts. Only a considerable time afterward was it discovered that the people had come because of a widespread rumor of a "white man with a wooden leg." Direct information, idle gossip, tales of power and benevolence, or downright malicious instigation have determined the reception of many a missionary.

The early history of Protestant missions in Japan and China, and even India and the Near East, abounds in evidence of most diabolical rumors.

"When I was a young man," says Chau, "the prevailing feeling was that the object of the foreign propaganda was political, and that Christianity was a system of erroneous doctrines, which taught men to forget and neglect their parents. It also forbade the worship of ancestors and spirits. The most damaging of all, however, were the stories which represented the Christians as living in promiscuous intercourse. Some of the things that were said were stupid and absurd, but that did not in any way affect the ready credence that was given to all and every report about foreigners. A peculiar kind of pill was in use among the Christians, which whoever swallowed forthwith all sense of shame forgot.

"The native Christians suffered much at the hands of their countrymen. They were looked upon as traitors, men who had denied the faith of their fathers, and given themselves to work out the wicked designs of the barbarians from across the seas. . . There is still a tendency to despise Christians, but it is small and unimportant compared with the early days.

". . . .The enemies of God's church in China have from time to time planned its destruction by diligently spreading false reports of a nature calculated to rouse the intensest hatred and strongest passions of the people. Such were the troubles that arose from the shansin-fan (Genii Powder) rumors. It was alleged that the Christians secretly dropped these powders into the wells. The effect of drinking the water into which these powders had been thrown was death in about a month. The form of this report was most insidious, and for weeks the people were kept in the wildest excitement.

"The people had good reason to remember the Tai-Ping Rebellion, and so had the mandarins.

"Thrice had war been waged in my time by Great Britain, France, and Japan. On all these occasions the native Christians have been regarded as the prime movers and the cause of these invasions. They were supposed to be in league with the foreigners in their dark designs. These things were made the plea for the destruction of the Christian church. Humanly speaking, the very existence of the church was again and again threatened."[1]

In more recent times a Mrs. Fan in the Woman's Opium Refuge at Chaocheng, China, when under kind treatment asked quite ingenuously if those rumors were true which credited weird criminal acts to the foreigners (and inquired carefully about the foreigner's person, costume, possessions, and history).

Mr. Fan after three weeks treatment in the Opium Refuge at Hwochow learned several verses from the New Testament and songs about salvation and the sin of opium smoking. In his village he was now referred to as a competent authority on 'foreign devils'![2]

Though not so well documented for English readers, the history of Japanese feelings and beliefs regarding early Christianity in Japan offers many a parallel to its treatment in China.[3]

Favorable rumors often share the field with unfavorable.

From Africa Livingstone once wrote regarding the Bechuana people who were being harassed by marauding neighbors:—

"The more peaceful tribes had heard of the value of the white man, and of the weapons by which a mere handful of whites had repulsed hordes of marauders. They were therefore disposed to welcome the stranger, although this state of feeling could not be relied on as sure to continue, for Griqua hunters and individuals from tribes hostile to the gospel were moving northward, and not only circulating rumors unfavorable to missionaries, but by their wicked lives introducing diseases previously unknown."[4]

Speaking of the way news of his medical treatment spread in Africa, Livingstone wrote:

". . . .The Bechuanas resort to the Bushmen and the poor people that live in the desert for doctors. The fact of my dealing in that line a little is so strange, and now my fame has spread far and wide. But if one of Christ's apostles were here, I should think he would be very soon known all over the continent to Abyssinia."[5]

2. CURIOSITY

Obviously, the spreading of rumor is merely the passing on of some impression to individuals or crowds. Only by examining many typical cases of these initial impressions themselves,* can we discover what produces the impressions that have been rumored abroad.

We are dubious about Neesima's interpretation of the Buddhists' interest in the Gospel, quoted in Chapter I, and of many similar interpretations, because such an instance has the

*That is, by examining them in the light of man's habitual attitudes, or in the light of his equipment of original instincts and of original ways of developing them into habits.

earmarks of mere instinctive curiosity rather than the motivation to which he ascribes it. Any strange arrival, a person of one's own people who is different or peculiar in any way, is a magnet for crowds throughout Africa and the East—just as he is for curious groups in the rural, small town, or immigrant sections of the Occident.

> Speaking of the missionary newly arrived in China, Soothill says: "If he be a pioneer, his arrival is the signal for curious crowds to assemble, that would try the equanimity of the gentlest."[6]
>
> Timothy Richard says that after he began wearing native garb in China he was invited to certain places he never had been before, for the simple reason that now the people no longer punctured the paper windows to get a look at his strange costume.[7]
>
> From the New Hebrides a missionary's wife reports: "Great crowds of people came to look at us, as I believe we are the first white women who ever landed on Fotuna. The *ladies* were, in consequence, very curious to have us examined properly; and they went about it in a business-like way, as I can testify from the pokes and thumps received. They always felt themselves at the same time, to see how far we were alike! On their examinations becoming rather too minute, I escaped into the house."[8]

Though some propagandists misinterpret the initial interest of strangers, others know very well that crowds listen out of sheer curiosity about things novel and exotic.[9] At any rate efforts are made universally to capitalize this curiosity for Christian propaganda. Street meetings and the "street chapel" are widely used for this purpose in the pioneer work of almost every mission.

> "The street chapel has been, and in many stations still is much used for purposes of evangelization."[10]
>
> In describing typical religious services in a street chapel in the Wenchow district of China Mr. Soothill goes on to say: "Other visitors are now straggling in: please sit still and I will stand up and try to interest them. A foreigner on his feet, talking, is a sufficient attraction to many; and, ... the people, observing others seated inside, come in to see what is going on. Soon the back seats, the aisle, and the back are filled with listeners."[11]

There is evidence that even the well established mission churches attract many hearers by the novelty and variety of the Christian ceremonies.

> "One Sunday morning a school-mate of mine asked me whether I would not go with him to 'a certain place in foreigners' quarter, where we can hear pretty women sing, and a tall big man with long beard shout and howl upon an elevated place, flinging his arms and twisting his body in all fantastic manners, to all which admittance is entirely free.' Such was his description of a Christian house of worship conducted in the language which was new to me then. I followed my friend, and I was not displeased with the place. Sunday after Sunday I resorted to this place, not knowing the awful consequence that was to follow such a practice. An old English lady from whom I learned my first lessons in English took a great delight in my church-going, unaware of the fact that sight-seeing, and not truth-seeking, was the only view I had in my 'Sunday excursion to the settlement' as I called it."[12]

There would be no particular value in splitting hairs over the psychology of this curiosity. We later speak of it as an "explorative tendency." The experimental psychologist would prefer to offer an analysis on the basis of the laws of attention. Thorndike might suggest that original tendencies of "the love of sensory life for its own sake" and "a special original interest in the behavior of other men" had come into play, or only "original attentiveness." Woodworth, while contending that what McDougal calls "curiosity is simply a collective name for an indefinite number of impulses, each of which is dependent on the existence of some degree of ability to perceive and understand a certain object," might appeal to the principal that "every object that is sufficiently novel to cause some difficulty in apprehension, while still within the power of our trained powers of perception, is an interesting object to us, and we are driven to apprehend it by the impulse to surmount the difficulty that it presents."[13]

For our purposes it is only necessary to note that the reason crowds gather to hear the propagandist out in the open, or the reason listeners hang on the lips of the street-chapel preachers, may have no connection with any sublime aspirations; instead,

it may depend entirely upon a greater or less exercise of a blind biological-psychological tendency to be curious about anything unfamiliar or novel. There may or may not be other motivation at the same time. But this tendency is one that may operate instinctively and spontaneously, and on that account is worth bearing in mind.

3. SELF-REFERENCE AND-ESTEEM

Accompanying the raising of the head, the thrusting up of the chin, (the raising of the ears,) the rapid searching and surveying with the eyes, that are noticeable in instinctive curiosity by animal or human, there is a perceptual or ideational registration of some sort. A human being automatically conceives of new experience in *terms of his ideas and past experience.* He may register a new object as merely strange, different; he may register it as a-non-human-being, or as a-different-kind-of-a-human-being; he may register it as something outside of his interests. *Ourselves* and our possessions and experiences, or our notions with regard to them, are assumed as measuring rods, as *norms.* And that has far-reaching results.

> When Richard changed from American to native costume, and appeared on the street in it, he overheard one Chinese say to another, "Ah! he looks like a man now."[14]

> A teacher in a mission school was quizzing a boy on races of the earth:
>
> " ' . . . .and what color is an Englishman?'
>
> " 'White, sir.'
>
> " 'And now what is the color of a Chinaman, my boy?'
>
> " 'Man color, sir,' proudly answered the youth. Nevertheless," adds the recorder of the incident, "the Chinaman admires a pink and white skin, almost as much as the negro does; and the women in the city do their best to cover it with rouge and powder."[15]

The development of this self-reference is a matter of psychological necessity as observed by Baldwin and other students of children.* To pass, however, from observations on instinctive

*If a strange object appears to be concerned with us in any way, our instinctive curiosity is augmented by a more precise awareness of it as something similar to objects that have meant good or ill for us in the past, or as something contrasted with them. In an instant, perhaps, we "size up" the new object as a possible source of harm or rivalry; if it does not appear menacing

tendencies in animals and children to facts about adult life, Robertson Smith maintains in his study of the early Semites that most surviving tribes and peoples have that sense of self-prestige (*habitual* self-esteem) we mentioned in our analysis of highly organized groups. With both child and adult behavior in mind, then, the question in any case of self-reference is whether it is instinctive and temporary or whether it is a habitual complex of instinctive and acquired reactions.

With these alternatives of the problem before us let us note a few observations on self-reference in non-Christian reactions to the missionary.

> "When the missionary Burton first entered the heathen Battak land in 1824, and explained his object to a great meeting in Silindung, when he spoke to them of God, the Creator, and Jesus the Redeemer, they answered politely, but decidedly: 'What you say may be good, but it is not for us; we shall not leave the way of our fathers, for it is good for us.' He had to withdraw without effecting anything. . . . ."[16]

> "The Bangala on the upper Congo are eager cannibals. They are not ashamed of it, and said with all naivete to the indignant missionary: 'You eat fowls, we eat men, where is the difference.' A Battak proverb says: 'Every region has its own products, and every land its own custom.' "[17]

> "Almost every uncivilized people maintain that they are the real men. Even a people on such a low level as the mountain Damra call themselves Haukhoin, i.e., men, true men. The Niassers do the same."[18]

> "The Congo negroes believed that the missionary Richards was a sinner and that the neighboring tribes did evil, but they absolutely refused to admit such things of themselves. The Betshuans exhibit the utmost self-righteousness. They admit that sinners may be found among the Bushmen and Hottentots, but there are none among the Betshuans. The Papuans in Dutch New Guinea admit that all other tribes except themselves are bad."[19]

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or powerful, we become assertive, with appropriate gestures. And to the extent that definition and statement are called for, we make conscious or unconscious declaration of our own selves, our identity, our evaluations, as over against those of the intruders; and perhaps we may go so far as to register either apprehension with regard to the object or assurance that we can master it. This behavior is due not only to an instinctive tendency toward self-reference; it involves, if assertiveness is present, a similarly instinctive tendency toward elation or self-regarding esteem; etc.

Obviously, unless we have an opportunity to search for possible antecedents of these reactions, we cannot assume that they are unlearned, or, instinctive. Even the inconsistencies in the native's replies, from the missionaries' point of view, gives us little help. He does not try to give precise explanation of his behavior with the accuracy of a logician. He wants to produce a certain effect upon his hearers or upon himself, and, quite naively perhaps, he says what occurs to him as the thing that will produce that effect—the same psychology is familiar among all "cultivated" folk! In fact, all we can state with certainty about the above illustrations of self-regarding esteem is, first, that the natives do not seem to apprehend the missionary's innovation as anything that they are interested in; and second, that there is no evidence of unlearned-ness in the self-reference even though instinctive tendencies *might* come into play by themselves—for there is a possibility of either an habitual or an instinctive self-reference, and even esteemed self-reference.*

4. WARINESS OF THE INCOMPREHENSIBLE BUT THREATENING

As soon as we become uncertain whether we can manipulate or control the strange object or person which is concerning itself with us, we become suspicious and wary. Man is innately wary of the ominous and incomprehensible which thrusts itself into his environment.

There are many evidences that point to such a stage in the non-Christian's responses to the alien propagandists.

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*The question involved is, Under what conditions may there be instinctive self-feeling after a habibual self-esteem or self-depreciation has been developed? The answer is, When certain habits ("permanent" reaction-systems) are inhibited by contrary reaction-systems,—i.e., when there is hesitation or vacillation on account of conflict. Now there is certainly a possibility that such occasions arise in the impact of Christianity upon alien peoples, and therefore that instinctive self-regard may operate at these times. Apart from such conflict situations, it seems improbable theoretically that the adult can experience forms of self-reference which are not already associated with habits of self-esteem or self-depreciation (see **Appendix II, section 2**).

It may be observed for comparison's sake, that whereas curiosity and other forms of instinctive behavior may be associated with habitual reactions in almost all (if not all) non-conflict cases, those habitual reactions may so function as not to obscure or prevent the instinctive functioning of the curiosity. For instance, because a person habitually lifts a hand to his eyes whenever he is aware of some significant sight, does not obscure the fact that novelty arouses his instinctive curiosity!

Referring to his fellow-countryman's apprehension with regard to white travellers, the native African Bishop, Crowther, wrote: "Though travellers fear nothing themselves yet they should endeavor to take due precautions to allay the fears of those whom they intend to visit, by previous communication, which will soon be circulated in the neighborhood, and then all will be right."[20]

In references to the successful missionary efforts in Polynesia and Micronesia, the Edinburgh report asserts: "The initial difficulties of approach and the natural suspicions of the inhabitants having been overcome, the surrender to the Gospel has been singularly complete and enthusiastic."[21]

"In China the Sunday School work is on very different lines from what it is in Japan. Owing to the common attitude of suspicion towards foreigners, it has been difficult in the past, and it still is so in many places, to get the children of non-Christian parents to attend."[22]

Dr. Wm H. Park of Soochow, China, said in personal conference that most of the Non-Christian patients insist upon bringing with them to the hospital a relative, friend, or servant to stay with them in the room. These are *bie kah*—"attending guests." They are brought probably because of fear—either of spirits or of the foreigners. Other physicians have given similar testimony.

On first acquaintance with aliens, the indigenous people naturally wonder, Why does this white man want to come away from his own people where he belongs? What does he want to to get from us or from our country?

The Mentawey Islanders replied to Lett the missionary, when he was declaiming against the hanging of witches: " 'Why should you white people trouble yourselves about our customs? . . . .everyone has his own custom.' We are constantly coming on the same answer in missionary literature."[23]

This wariness is sometimes reciprocal, as Mrs. Paton suggests.

". . . .The natives gave us, or *me* rather, so much more of their company than was quite agreeable; for Mr. Paton was generally away, building the house with the Aneityumese who had come with us for that purpose. I fear I had not too much confidence in the black faces that were always peering over my shoulder, when I was getting Home-letters ready, and eagerly inquiring, *What for you make paper about man Aniwa*?"[24]

A document reported from Japan in 1866 reads: "At first, the prejudice and suspicion of the rulers of this country led them, for some time, frequently to send posses of officers to the houses of missionaries, ostensibly as friends calling upon friends, but really as spies, to find out for what object these non-trading people had come to Japan."[25]

To primitive peoples who attribute marvelous cleverness or powerful magic to the stranger, there is a whole world of possibilities that they cannot feel sure of.[26]

". . . .Then he went back to the village to see Tavo, his half-brother. Tavo was in a great fury, and got his gun to shoot Nausian. But our brave teacher calmly faced his would-be murderer, and said,

" 'If you shoot me, Tavo, you will do yourself far greater harm than you can do to me. You can only hurt my body, but you will hurt your own soul.' Tavo trembled all over, and then lowered his gun."[27]

If evil befalls them while the missionary is with them, or if disaster comes soon after one of their number is converted, the foreign element in their environment is to blame for the misfortune,—the stranger has used poison or magic, or he has transgressed some inviolable law or tabu and so has made the gods angry.

"Coming on to his old friends the Bakaa, he [Livingstone] found them out of humor with him, accusing him of having given poison to a native who had been seized with fever on occasion of his former visit. Consequently he could get little or nothing to eat, and had to content himself, as he wrote to his friends, with the sumptuous feasts of his imagination."[28]

"The breaking up of images and the destruction of sanctuaries do not in the mind of the heathen injure Europeans, but they injure the natives. . . .'We summoned all the gods of the Toradja and challenged them to punish us for preaching about the living God, but the Toradja told us that the gods could do us no harm, but might do them harm.' The savage Papuans on a voyage were afraid of an evil spirit. To prove the groundlessness of their fear the missionary, Van Hasselt, began to row himself, but the only result was to make the Papuans says: 'The spirit will do nothing to you white men, but he

> may harm us blacks.' The same reply was heard on Lake Nyassa. . . .Schneider says of the bush negroes of Suriname 'If the missionary seeks to prove to them the impotence of idols by violently attacking them, he is told: "Our religion is only for us blacks and therefore such things do not injure you. We on the contrary, would be smitten by the judgment of the gods." ' In the early days of mission work in Sumatra, the Battaks would allow no missionary to enter their sacred grove: they did so from no fear that harm might befall the white man, which indeed they would have wished. No; they were afraid that the insulted spirit would avenge himself upon them, his worshippers, bound to him by oath."[29]

Or perhaps the foreigner's god is proving stronger than their own; naturally, then, if they persecute a Christian teacher, and he continues to have good fortune, they are afraid.

> In 1914 Sadhu Sundar Singh went preaching Christianity to Nepal, where it is prohibited and fanatically opposed. He was put in prison; then in stocks he was exposed naked all day and night. Leeches were put on him. It was agonizing; yet, he says, "I do not know how it was, but my heart was so full of joy I could not help singing and preaching." His endurance and peaceful countenance frightened his persecutors, and the next morning they released him, barely able to crawl.
>
> In Thibet, he was thrown into a dungeon upon putrid human flesh; was rescued toward morning: and preached again. When the Lama judging the case found the key to the dungeon in his own girdle, in fear he ordered the Sadhu to leave their city lest untold harm should befall them.[30]

Regarding the awful things the missionary may do to the natives who come under his power, the most fantastic rumors are believed. They are comparable in the West only to the deeds imputed to Jews in the pogrom districts of Europe. As we have remarked above in discussing rumors, the early missionary literature of the Far East gives abundant evidence of belief in preposterous tales among the natives. And the biography of such a present-day pioneer as Sadhu Sunder Singh, is saturated with the mystico-magical fears of the hinterland populace.

But even when one receives charity from strangers, especially if he is not used to receiving free help, he may have an uncanny feeling, or a sort of presentiment that something more may come of it.*

Speaking of the necessity for the missionary to take the charity attitude in order to gain the people's confidence, Barton says: "This means that he is a friend to each individual in matters personal, intellectual, social, and religious. It requires time, and patience, and persistent effort to win this position among an Oriental people who are naturally suspicious of the motives of one who professes an altruistic purpose in his labors among them. In some countries a generation of effort passed before there were marked indications of success."[31]

Of the reception which missionary charity and medical work met, Brinkley says: "Assuredly it did puzzle the Chinese at first. They facilitated it, but, at the same time, they suspected something more than a pure benevolent motive." This he feels was due not to the lack of charity among themselves, but to the egoistic and exploiting nature of the Western contact with which they were already familiar.[32]

"It is hard to work for years with pure motives," says Livingstone, "and all the time be looked on by most of those to whom our lives are devoted, as having some sinister object in view. Disinterested labor—benevolence—is so out of their line of thought, that many look upon us as having some ulterior object in view."[33]

One of the more grotesque suspicions is given by Pandita Ramabai:

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*This impression, unheard of and incomprehensible to many who are brought up in a sect professing to do good to others, is yet clear to the man experiencing charity for the first time even though it may be in a Western garb of semi-condescension. Formerly the religious or charity worker in the United States was often naively ignorant as to the way he or she evoked this reaction in purely immigrant communities. Even a Judge Lindsay arouses it in his first private conversations with youthful criminals habitually suspicious of all outside of their gang. This brings to mind, too, the burglar's surprise and strange feeling in Victor Hugo's Les Miserables. Even a man of means who has always paid well for his entertainment, may have a suggestion of it when he first goes to a peasant's home overnight and is allowed to pay nothing for his keep.

If there is an organization behind the donor, the uncanniness is likely to be still greater, and may be accompanied by apprehension.

(It is not in place here to differentiate between the various kinds of "tender emotion," cooperation, seeking of merit, condescension, self-justification, etc., which actually figure in giving charity.)

"It is hard work to gather and save girls and young women. Their minds have been filled with such a dread towards Christian people, that they cannot appreciate the kindness shown them. For instance, many of the unconverted girls in my home have a great fear in their mind. They think that some day after they are well fattened they will be hung head downward, and a great fire will be built underneath, and oil will be extracted from them to be sold at a fabulously large price for medical purposes. Others think that they will be put into oil mills and their bones ground. It is only lately that our girls gathered from the last famine have begun to lose these dreadful thoughts; but the minds of the new ones are filled with more dreadful ideas than these. They cannot understand that any one would be kind to them without some selfish purpose."[34]

The psychological tensity of this suspicion makes possible a combination of fear and fascination (curiosity and attraction, piqued by apprehension) which missionaries may consciously or unconsciously play upon in their work. Livingstone, and most preachers of Christianity, utilized this apprehension in sermon and religious teaching.

"September 2, 1860.—On Sunday evening went over to the people, giving a general summary of Christian faith by the life of Christ. Asked them to speak about it afterward. Replied that these things were above them—they could not answer me. I said if I spoke of camels and buffaloes tamed, they understood, though they had never seen them; why not perceive the story of Christ, the witnesses to which refused to deny it, though killed for maintaining it? Went on to speak of the resurrection. All were listening eagerly to the statements about this, especially when they heard that they, too, must rise and be judged. Lerimo said, 'This I won't believe.' 'Well, the guilt lies between you and Jesus.' This always arrests attention. Spoke of blood shed by them; the conversation continued till they said, 'It was time for me to cross, for the river was dangerous at night.' "[35]

The New Hebrides teacher, in an incident already given, made Tavo tremble and drop his gun by invoking this fear of unknown forces. The native preacher is peculiarly likely to wield the prestige of the supernatural. Belief in spirits and lack of familiarity with diverse traditions and philosophies, makes the primitive and simple-minded person quite susceptible to the

imaginative world of unknown gods, and hence to the propagandist's tactics. Do not these white men boldly proclaim themselves to be ambassadors of the great God? they say. Do they not know wonderful things about the next world which even the greatest of our ancestors did not know? Do they not warn us of a great judgment where we are to be held responsible for things we have done? And if these missionaries have a reputation among us for veracity in material affairs, why are their words about the spiritual world not to be believed?

Thus prestige accumulates and tightens its grip on the credulous. Both the ignorant and the open-minded literate may be effectively held in the suspense of uncertainty and apprehension before one whom they feel is in league with more powerful forces than themselves—while the propagandist proceeds with his work of making a favorable impression, utilizing to the utmost this fascination-suspense wherever he can find it.

In this wariness reaction there seem to be habitual as well as spontaneous instinctive tendencies at work. The point is that, as in the case of self-reference, either would be possible. Yet, aside from that question there is a temporary aspect to these reactions, from the point of view of an outside observer. It may be due to the observer's certainty that the stimulus must change its form; i.e., that the novel object is regarded with a tense uncertainty that cannot persist. And in many cases, indeed, the early wariness has been observed as changing, or, ceasing, whichever way we care to say it. The important thing is that the stimulus-reaction-arc may often be a temporary one.

5. ATTEMPT AT MASTERY

If wariness does not lead to retreat, it is likely to be offset by at least a temporary display of assertiveness. One of the innate tendencies exhibited by animals and children when first put in the presence of a small object, is to grasp and get control

of it and manipulate it. Evidences of this tendency to assert oneself over things and persons, is particularly conspicuous in the behavior of those in independent or prestiged groups, toward outsiders. Read the history of Western contacts with Chinese and their literati.

"In 1664 two European Embassies arrived at Peking, hoping to open diplomatic relations with the Empire; one was from Russia, coming overland by way of Siberia, and the other from Holland, coming by the sea. The Manchu Regents treated both Embassies in the haughty manner with which they were told that they were accustomed to treat all foreigners. The foreign Ambassadors were told that they would be expected to perform the ceremony of the 'k'ow-tow,' when admitted to the presence of the Emperor. The Dutch yielded to this demand, but gained little from their compliance, as the Imperial consent could only be obtained for an embassy to enter China once every eight years, and then it was not to consist of more than one hundred men, of whom only twenty would be allowed to enter the Capital. The Russians refused to perform the 'k'ow-tow,' and having acquired no privileges departed for home the same way they came, to report their failure to their Czar Alexis.

"The Chinese insisted thus strongly on the 'k'ow-tow' because it would indicate that those who performed it belonged to countries on the same level as those tributary to China.

. . . . . .

"The Chinese, accustomed to regard themselves as superior to all other nations, could see no reason why they should deal on terms of equality with the representative of the British Empire, and Lord Napier on his part could see no reason why his demands should not be granted, as he was asking no more than any country in Europe would readily concede.

. . . . . .

"It is to be regretted perhaps, that the war is generally known as the Opium War, for although the destruction of the opium was made by the British Government a *casus belli*, yet, apart from the opium traffic, there were causes leading inevitably to an open rupture between the two nations.

". . . .The first war with China was but the beginning of a struggle between the extreme East and the West, the East refusing to treat on terms of equality, diplomatically or commer-

> cially, with Western Nations, and the West insisting on its right to be so treated. All attempts at peaceful negotiations had failed, and the only resource left seemed to be the appeal to war."[36]
>
> Timothy Richard indicates that England's war of 1837 was regarded by the Chinese as the rebellion of a power which had previously paid tribute to China—for the presents of Lord Macartney and other embassies had been recorded by Chinese historians as tribute. Said a Chinese to Richard in 1875, "When England revolted, it was the greatest rebellion since the world began."[37]

The same, in general, is true in the case of early Western contacts with Japanese, Indian, and Mohammedan peoples. They give similar stories of clash of conceits. It has already been intimated that if it were not for international pressure and rigorous suppression of violence by domestic governments, there would be physical and violent attempt-at-mastery over Christian propaganda today in far more regions than those of a Nepal, a Thibet, or a Morrocco.

These gestures of assertion over the alien, and thence of rivalry and naked attempt-at-mastery, may be unconsciously developed or consciously inculcated from generation to generation. Occasionally assertiveness does not persist after a continued acquaintance with the innovators—it is such a case that leaves us the option of regarding either the motivating tendency as spontaneously instinctive or the stimulus as temporary. The following attitude could hardly persist long:

> "The curiosity of these great men in Africa knows no bounds. On one occasion a king wanted to know whether the great White Queen wore leather boots, and in order to outshine her he told the Bishop to order him a pair of boots made of brass, which his visitor promised should be done when he had discovered in London a maker of brass boots."[38]

It is apparent, then, that the general type of behavior we have been discussing, calls into play such psychological tendencies as that to manifest scornful behavior, the tendency to find superiority satisfying, and the instinct of attempt-at-mastery, all so well described by Thorndike. As to whether they come into play through previously formed habits of which

they are parts or by immediate response of the naked innate tendencies themselves, the presumption is in favor of a habit; yet no experimental psychologist would grant that the available incidents are recorded with sufficient detail and sufficient history of the subjects concerned, to decide definitely. One thing is certain: The historical facts of national conflict we referred to, as well as innumerable instances of present pioneer work, bristle with reactions which persist only a short time or which at best represent lingering stages in the earlier responses to the entrance of foreigner and propagandist.

The real difficulties in judging the temporariness of these responses should not be overlooked. For instance, we cannot help realizing in a given case of attempt-at-mastery, or of any of the preceding responses, that one or more "temporary" reactions may result from a permanent attitude of the sort in question, and then that the words and gestures of the subjects may change while their fundamental attitude may remain quiescent or express itself otherwise. That is a fundamental point and must always be borne in mind. For instance, some people may continue to resent the missionary's propaganda yet may not regard it as necessary or worth while actually to keep telling him that he is not wanted or to keep letting him realize in other ways that he is regarded as a suspicious character. Many converts testify to having passed through these stages. Much depends on whether the stimulus to the temporary reaction is a misconception which in the nature of the case will be soon dissipated. Yet, in any case, whether or not a specific reaction is spontaneous, is a distinct and real problem in all preliminary acquaintances and relationships.

6. PERSISTENCE OF SUSPICIONS AND MISCONCEPTIONS

When it is remembered that originally the missionary came to most peoples as a strange person of whom they knew absolutely nothing except his strange appearance or some rumor as to a foreign interloper, it will be obvious that the reactions we have discussed may be attributed (on the stimulus side) to the most

varied conceptions of the missionary, some of them gross distortions. And these conceptions are bound to linger for some time after missionaries arrive in any region. Fantastic notions last until they are disproved by obvious facts or by continued intimacy with the foreigner. Probably the most common notions of this sort have grown from a failure to appreciate the psychic factors, broadly speaking, responsible for the propagandist's appearance.

He must be the agent of vicious political intrigue and material exploitation, natives contended.

> "Bishop Cameron of Cape Town says, 'Another social—or perhaps rather political—hindrance is the idea in the minds of many of the heathen natives that Christianity is a foreign religion, and that the missionaries are in some way or other officers of the British Government. Hence has arisen a reaction in some quarters against European missionaries, and against Christianity as a religion in which the natives must always be subordinate to the Europeans; and the consequent demand for an exclusively native Church, ministered to and directed by native pastors alone, which is commonly known as Ethiopianism.' "[39]
>
> "The opinion has been very generally entertained among the Chinese that the professors of the Christian religion become the subjects of the country to which the missionary belonged, and would not therefore publicly connect themselves in any way with the Chinese authorities."[40]
>
> An Edinburgh Commission, reporting in 1910, holds that "In China there is more intellectual toleration, but a standing suspicion of the Church itself as an organization and also as the presumed organ of Foreign Powers."[41]*

And Great Britain's prohibition of German missionaries from India and from English mandatory regions for five years after the signing of the Versailles Treaty in 1920, combined with the activities of British commercial agents in the wake of British missionaries, may cause some more persistent suspicion on the part, at least, of non-Christian countries.

Today, in regions where the missionary is no longer accused of complicity in political aggression or chicanery, he still meets

*A very suggestive survey of the more detailed charges made against the missionaries on this score, is given in Michie, chap. v. ff.

among the illiterate the old insinuation or suspicion of having some sort of "materialistic" motives. As we have indicated, men usually feel that a person professing to do them good either is queer, or else is getting some material satisfaction from it. The unsophisticated person who cannot discover a material satisfaction, is more likely to posit one than to posit some unfamiliar form of psychic satisfaction.

> A crafty chief kidnapped Crowther in 1867 and held him for a ransom. "Abokko said he knew well that I possessed the establishments at Lokoja, Idda, Onitsha, Bonny, etc., and he believed that I owned the ships also and could direct them as I pleased. . . . .
>
> "I can well account for such erroneous, perhaps wilful, attributing of such power and influence over the ships and training establishments to me. It arises from my being the oldest visitor known in the river. Since 1841 I have been always seen on board, whether in a man-of-war or a trading ship, as a passenger among the natives. To visit the river every year, and yet not to own the ships or the trading establishments, was what Abokko could not be made easily to believe."[42]

Where certain psychic motives are appreciated, where, for example, fame or repute or social standing are consciously thought of in terms that can be associated with the missionary's behavior, he may be regarded as actuated by those motives and as pursuing these ends among the foreigners' people. (This last, of course, is very closely related to the missionary's dependence on his standing before his God, his living associates dark-skinned or light, and his norm-ideals.)

> ". . .friendly Heathen believe that missionaries do good in order to acquire merit, and a convert has been known to give this explanation of his own and the missionary's diligence, as they tramped in the sun from village to village."[43]

This, again, is one of those inviting topics that may be investigated along with the psychology of the propagandist himself. The more primitive or illiterate are likely to accuse the missionary, in a more or less off-hand way which conveniently avoids analyzing his motives, of mere ulterior purposes. The more sophisticated who get beyond this, sometimes regard him

as foolish but harmless. In a few regions possibly they may regard him as a mendicant, or travelling preacher, such as they see frequently in their own country.

The charge of economic and political ambition is transcended by severer critics also. Rabid opponents of Christianity may charge that those supporting it, sanctioning it, or believing it, are misled by permanent misconceptions and by vicious misrepresentation. Enthusiastic supporters may claim that those opposing and those indifferent both sadly misunderstand the missionary. These controversial charges require for their support more elaborate study along some such lines as we shall take up in the following sections and chapters.

From our point of view the coming and the passing of these misconceptions and suspicions, and the attenuation of their grip upon non-Christians, represent changes both in the stimuli and in the reaction-arcs of individual and group behavior. They are, *par excellence*, facts that give a temporary character to initial reactions. In this capacity, they are probably far more significant than questions as to the immediately instinctive nature of the reactions: of course, habits so control man's reactions from his early years that instinct gets little chance to work independently of them. Naturally too, any reaction tends either to become permanent or to be abandoned. And the stimulus, if retained and apprehended differently, tends to take on a more permanent character. Yet the temporary character is of importance whether it be due either to immediately instinctive response or to conceptions and attitudes that are later discarded as incorrect and unfitting.

7. REVISING GENERAL NOTIONS

The propagandist sometimes feels handicapped by the way his first contacts with his audience-of-possible-followers are registered in their minds. "Why will they not see that he is genuinely friendly and considerate toward them?"

Speaking of the novice in village preaching, Soothill says:

"... the Chinese both in face and dress, seem all alike to the new arrival, until he advances from generalities to detail. It shocks our personal vanity to find that the Chinaman often has the same view of our noble selves [probably ironic humor upon the flattery customary in Chinese terms of address!], and that he cannot immediately distinguish between Mr. Coarse and Mr. Fyne. . . ."[44]

Why do they hark back to a general notion of the missionary?—or of a foreigner?—or of a white man?—instead of taking him as an individual. Why is he, to them, merely an "outsider," or even one of the "foreign devils" who practice black arts? Why should he be blamed with viciously saddling the opium curse upon China, and with outraging all justice in the military exploitation of India or of Africa?

"One of the ladies of the China Inland Mission was visiting in the great city of Shao-hsing . . . in 1886. She entered a large handsome house, and found three women sitting in the courtyard, one of them an old lady in her ninetieth year. They listened attentively to the Gospel for some time, until the old lady smoking her pipe caught the name of Jesus.

"'What is that?' she cried, standing up, and coming towards the missionary. 'Do not dare to mention that name again! I hate Jesus. I will not hear another word. You foreigners come with opium in one hand and Jesus in the other.'

"... The first mission station in the province of Honan was closed by a riot in which an infuriated mob, led on by the scholars of the city, drove out our missionary, crying after him—

"'You burned our palace; you killed our Emperor; you poison our people, and now you come to teach us *virtue!*'"[45]

However, very naturally do his listeners regard him as strange, peculiar, foreign, and sharing in responsibility for his group's actions, before they notice individual traits of his own.

"... I once heard a Japanese minister remark, in a sermon, on the great change which had taken place in the matter of race hatred. When Christian missionaries first came to Japan, he said, they were called *Yaban* (barbarian), then *Aka-hige* (red beard), then *Yaso* (a corruption of Jesus), after that *Ijin* (a foreigner), then *Seiyojin* (a Westerner), and now they are called *Beikokujin* (Americans)."[46]

Psychologically, observation proceeds in this way from the general impression to the detailed apprehension, though the first is continually revised as details gradually become apparent.* Even though one's general impression be due to others' gossip or reports of a concrete nature, the original observation back of their gossip conforms to this principle; and so do the fresh observations he himself will make later. The general impression is oftentimes dominantly emotional; as such, it does not require details or analysis of the object. It is related to community prepossessions and prejudices rather than to individual discriminations. In interpreting it, the psychology of perception, rumor, and group attitudes will reveal far more than the psychology of reflection.

It can usually be depended upon at the present stage in the mingling of different races that all but the exceptionally sympathetic foreigners will always be foreigners, exotics, men-who-do-not-belong-here, especially where the color of the outsider's skin differs from that of the native. And where differences in religious rites and customs are as distinct as the outward signs of race, as in the case of Hindu, Mohammedan, Oriental, and African, the Christian will always be a "Christian."

> "It was the writer's good fortune to accompany Mr. Pye of Fenchow on one of his annual or semi-annual tours through the Shensi field of the American Board. . . .
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> ". . . .In only one of the fifteen or more centers which we visited were there more than a dozen women who dared to break through the social conventions and attend the church worship.

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*". . . . .we learn to notice and respond to elements and features of a complex object or situation which at first we only perceive as a totality.

". . . .It is perhaps pretty generally true that a check encountered in the course of natural unanalytic action affords the occasion for analysis." Woodworth, (A), 98-99.

"The child perceives an object first as a whole; later he may observe how the object is made up. The adult procedure also is to begin with the total impression of a complex object, and to advance, if and as far as necessary, to the details . . . .The whole with which it starts is not necessarily the largest whole that can be apprehended; and accordingly the reverse process of combining smaller units that have been observed into larger units also goes on, but the movement from the whole to the part is the more characteristic of perceptual acts." *Ibid.*, 96-97.

> When we sought the reason for this exception, we traced it back wholly to the influence of one woman in the community, who the year before had studied in the Fenchow Bible School. . . .
>
> "Two common misconceptions the missionary seeks to dispel from the minds of the people wherever he goes; one, *that Christianity is a western religion* instead of a universal religion; another, *that the Gospel simply offers a new custom or a new ceremony* instead of new life. . . ." (Italics ours.)[47]

To this extent the initial impression may persist in spite of familiarity with details of the individual's life; and, long after the general categories of lingering misconceptions and suspicions described above, lose their force.*

The reasons this reaction persists are, first, that the stimulus retains its form with slight modifications; second, that there is an innate tendency to be aware of the strange; and, third, that a group's self-consciousness always requires a differentiation between the *they* and the *we*, which undoubtedly builds upon this innate tendency.

If we generalize upon the basis of these specific cases we find that we have the same problem as that of the initial and temporary versus the persisting responses, we have been discussing.

To recapitulate and summarize, therefore: Both the stimulus and the response may be permanent: the first because it retains its form on closer and more continuous acquaintance, and the second because it grows out of an habitual or instinctive "pattern of response."† Yet both may be temporary: the first because

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*During the present renaissance of sub-group, national, and racial self-consciousness, this seems to be deep and permanent. In China where now there is popularly supposed to be far less antipathy to the foreigner than in Japan, India, or Moslem countries, missionaries have told the writer repeatedly that careful investigation discloses this antagonism to the foreigner as a foreigner practically everywhere.

R. E. Park of the University of Chicago compares the impression which the early Christians with their impractical, other-worldly, and emotional world, probably had upon the practical, worldly, and rational Romans—this he compares to the effect the thorough-going Christian Scientist has upon the modern man of science. There is no common ground; one can not get at the other; their peculiar worlds make them utterly separate. It is in some such way that the Christian must appear to the Buddhist or Hindu.

†"*Patterns of response* consist of *series of definite response systems* organized in contact with particular stimuli and excited to action by them. Ordinarily, the definiteness and regularity, as well as the predictability of an act, depend upon the *specific correlation* of a definite reaction system with some particular stimulus." [Italics mine.] Kantor, in *Psychological Review*, XXVIII (1921), 22c.

it changes its appearance to the observer and therefore changes its form and nature as a stimulus, and the second because it grows immediately out of a temporary condition of the subject such as that of some unsatisfied desire. If either the stimulus or response is temporary in a given case, the reaction-arc is temporary also and we may speak of the initial behavior in its entirety as temporary—yet for the purposes of analysis, we must bear in mind the separate factors in the reaction-arc and their relationship. Among the first contacts between the alien missionary and the indigenous peoples, we have noted many conceptions of the missionary that must be regarded as only temporary stimuli. Among the reactions of which any human being is capable, we have noted some of those which may operate directly apart from habits in which they may also function—for example, original attentiveness, self-assertion, etc., a list which might also include combative and receptive responses not discussed at all. And although habit is far more usual in the adult than direct instinctive reaction, yet there are still other situations, as indicated previously, particularly conducive to instinctive reaction.

To get at all the ramifications and relationships functioning at a given moment in any situation is practically impossible at present. Yet, to have in mind the various alternatives is the best safeguard against misinterpretation. It facilitates making the practical distinctions between the changing aspects of a stimulus, and between the possibilities of its linkage now with various of one's unlearned tendencies and again with various of one's reaction-arcs or habit-systems. When a Uchimura goes to the church service of a mission, we are aware that for a long time it may be spontaneous, a matter of continued curiosity and excitement. But his group, we know, may curse its proselytizing influence within a few years. When a Moslem blood relative poisons a native worker who has abandoned Islam and become a Christian proselytiser, we know, too, that his action may be spontaneous, but at the same time, it may

issue out of a centuries' nourished antagonism of the Moslem group toward Christianity. Thus we must expect to see stimuli and responses shift and vary. And as long as there are any people not conversant with all the outstanding phases of Christian mores and history, spontaneous and temporary reactions to them will be found!

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CHAPTER IV

THOSE REJECTING CHRISTIANITY

(Orientation with Regard to More Permanent Non-Approving Behavior)

A few propagandists may seem to have been satisfied with the purely temporary responses, especially where these were of an apparently approving or seeking type. A Francis Xavier sweeps over province after province of the Asiatic countries, blessing God and the Pope for tens of thousands of "converts" who have submitted to baptism and been "rescued from eternal damnation." A few contemporary Protestant sects engage in evangelizing tours, returning with joy that "the Gospel has been preached and the elect chosen of God" have been "saved." Mere curiosity, attentiveness, and temporary acquiescence to the performance upon them of some ceremony such as baptism, has been construed as a "conviction of sin" or "conversion."

But the rank and file of contemporary Protestant missionaries pursue their work in one locality so steadily and persistently that their efforts meet with more or less permanent and classifiable attitudes of indifference, of opposition, and of definite receptiveness. As an organized movement, Christian missions aim to secure permanent receptiveness from the whole non-Christian world, ultimately.

Furthermore, the initial reactions inevitably give way to more permanent ones. The spontaneous curiosity or wariness of the native upon his first contact with Christian propagandists, is necessarily temporary; the former must continually have new objects to satisfy it and, in a certain sense, the latter is a mental suspense that cannot last long with further acquaintance. Underneath the random expression of certain habits and instinctive tendencies, this fore-period may be one of hesitation, or else one of irritation which shows merely that the stimulus is taking effect—either opposition or acceptance may follow.

Take for example the ordinary "preaching of the Gospel." As the missionary talks or sermonizes, his polemic against native religions may show a curious and interested community that his

presence will mean deprecation and undermining of the very structure of their time-honored tradition—their all-in-all. That will bring repugnance or downright opposition. If more cleverly, or in accordance with the recent standards of certain Christian sects, he avoids all invective in his preaching yet calls for compliance with his mores and submission to his God, these demands may seem onerous if not harsh and odious.

". . . .An Indian missionary tells us. . . .'I have never been able to forget an answer which I got from a heathen in great anger. He said, 'We have a religion which makes great demands upon us in money, cattle, sacrifices, mortifications, fasts, prayers, washings, pilgrimages. We meet all these demands. We have a king who imposes taxes on us, and demands money, grain, and compulsory service. We do all that he asks. We have a government which saddles us with policemen and police arrangements. We groan and bear it all. And now you come with frightful demands which put all the others in the shade. It is cruel to torture, with the terrors of the law, the heathen, who have grown up in fear and terror all their life.' "

"The Gospel has little prospect of being welcomed if it comes as a demand."[1]

A certain number of curious folk who linger about the newcomer, may return again and again to hear him talk about his beneficent God. Finally, some of them refuse to follow some age-long custom of the community, or to go through certain religious rites at their homes. This attracts immediate attention. The issue becomes drawn.

"When we preached in their streets children came, and at first listened suspiciously; but the result was that some of the listeners refused to bow down to the false gods of their fathers and mothers, and then a spirit of opposition was excited. . . and when the priests and priestesses began to complain to the native authorities, they saw that their religion was in danger, hence arose persecution . . .and the Christians were all driven out of the country."[2]

Says the founder of the Arya Somaj regarding the missionary procedure of isolating individuals from their home group:

"—'And he saith unto them, Follow me and I will make you fishers of men. And they straightway left their nets, and followed him.'

"—It appears that this summons was a sin against the ten commandments of the Old Testament, namely, Honor thy father and thy mother that their days may be long. Christ himself did not serve his parents and called away others from the service of their father and mother. It was from this sin that his life was prematurely cut off. It is also evident that Christ preached a religion to entrap people as fishes in a net to obtain the object. When such was the case with Christ, it is no wonder that the modern missionaries should catch people in their net. For, as a fisherman gains a great name and plentiful livelihood by catching many and large fishes in his net, so does a man get much honor and subsistence by converting many people to his faith. It is on this account that these Christian missionaries ensnare the people, ignorant of the Vedas and philosophies, in their net and separate them from their duty of serving their parents and family members. Therefore it is proper for all learned Aryas to be on their guard against their snares and to be even ready for saving their ignorant brethren from falling thereinto."[3]

If the alien sets up a hospital or starts a school to teach the native children, the community may not be forced to take sides definitely—for or against him—so quickly. Some are cured at the hospital and as part of the treatment listen to the preaching and praying and singing. Children are often allowed to go to foreign schools in communities where the parents themselves have nothing to do with the foreigners.

"In every part of the country a beginning at least has been made at the task of holding Sunday schools among children who are not touched by other Christian influences. This constitutes the best and easiest method of the evangelization of India by the Indian Church. The accessibility of the children of India is phenomenal. . . .Given a teacher who is even moderately interesting and an audience is assured. Not only are the children of the depressed or poorer classes obtainable, but in many parts of the country it is found that Sunday schools for Brahmin and other high caste scholars and even for Mohammedan children may be maintained. Some examples will illustrate this. . . ."[4]

When, however, the children come home from school having acquired more respect for the foreigner's knowledge than that for their own tradition, and refusing to follow some of the old customs, then the issue becomes drawn.

The rumor of such a danger easily spreads from one community to another. And bars are put up in advance against the propagandist. This is the sort of experience that makes up the background of many a tribal, sectarian, or national "awakening" to opposition. Generally speaking this shift of attitude has been mentioned as characterizing primitive peoples, as we have seen earlier. In India, taking a perspective over the last century, opposition gathered the momentum it now shows, only after periods in which indifference and receptivity were predominant, as Farquhar shows. The same sequence of attitudes evolved towards early missions to China: Roman Catholic Christianity was admitted as Buddhism and Islam had been, and only after a prolonged propaganda did vehement opposition develop, with persecution and suppression.[5] Japan went through the same shift early in the history of Christianity in that country.[6] Among Mohammedans, however, no general prolonged period of receptivity has appeared, for reasons we shall see later—and the same might be said of the more conservative Hindu groups.

> "Islam is the one religion now existing which explicitly rejects Christianity."[7]

The shift of attitude is sometimes, of course, toward receptivity: all of those changes introduced by missionaries may be permitted and even welcomed by other families or communities.

> "Another, referring to the opening of a day school and a Sunday School in a village, writes: 'Results are somewhat mixed. Among out-castes such a school and Sunday School are often the beginning of work among parents, and result in the conversion of many, perhaps the whole village or hamlet. Among caste people open conversions seldom occur; but there is constant encouragement when children refuse longer to worship idols in the home, or at the shrines.'"[8]

> ". . . .We could not get adults into our schools, but we were able to get a few children, boys and girls, and from these early

> schools came the first converts and later on the first evangelists and the first pastors of the people."[9]
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> ". . . .The Rev. W. N. Brewster says that village day schools are among the most effective evangelistic agencies in Asiatic countries, and that many families have been brought into the Church through the attendance of the children at schools conducted by the missions; he further mentions that a recent extensive revival began in the schools."[10]

Any missionary speech, magazine, book, or report will furnish testimony of this type.

Inevitably the reactions shift until some take on permanence and become habitual wherever Christian propaganda is persistent, and it is these we are now concerned with. They may change from decade to decade, speaking of countries as wholes. The popular press of India or Japan may be predominantly receptive at one time and predominantly antagonistic at another. But such shifts are in the realm of more permanent reactions, rather than in the realm of the initial and temporary ones treated above.

Before taking up specific reactions of a more permanent nature as related to specific phases of the propaganda, it will be well to take a comprehensive view of those rejecting missionary Christianity. This orientation will keep before us considerations which should either be substantiated or refuted by adequate data. As we indicate in the Appendix I, all our generalizations are tentative.

1. INDIFFERENCE
(Failure-To-Respond)

Among the more permanent responses of non-approval, none is more intangible and elusive than that indifference which hints of a lack of any permanent response. Its very inconspicuousness to the outsider brings it scant attention: the ordinary observer hardly thinks of it as a phenomenon to be accounted for.

Tolerance?—Where there is no vindictiveness, group opposition, or acceptance, educated nationals may tell us that the common response is a general tolerance. Non-polemic propaganda by their own religions is related as proof:

In setting off the tolerance of Buddhism against the intolerance of Christianity, Coomaraswamy says:

". . . .The Buddhist Emperor Asoka (272 B.C.) organized foreign missions on a truly magnificent scale. These were perhaps the most successful missions ever undertaken, for it was his support that 'made the fortune of Buddhism, and raised it to the position which enabled it still to dispute with Christianity the first place among the religions of the world, so far as the number of believers is concerned' (Vincent Smith) . . . .What then was the burden of Asoka's missions, what was the message he so desired to communicate to all, what did he understand by conversion? It was not a dogma at all; it was the 'Law of Piety' (Dhamma): 'The Law of Piety is excellent. But what is the Law of Piety? It requires innocuousness, many good deeds, compassion, truthfulness, purity' (Pillar Edict II). This, with an insistence upon the greater value of meditation than of ceremonial observances, was the gospel of Asoka's missions. 'Conversion' was a turning of the heart, not the acceptance of a formula. Such was the work of the greatest and most successful missionary the world has seen. Were the ideals of the Christian missionary similar, he might make fewer 'converts'—and more followers of Christ."[11]

Just what does this neutral attitude of people in China, in India, in Japan, mean? To what is it due? For the time being, let us agree to the common assertions that the people of India do not mind having two or three religions, and that as long as you do not demolish their family loyalties or slander their caste prejudices, they will not disturb you, even though they do not agree with your doctrines. Grant for the time being, that a tolerance of personal spiritual (mystical) experience and of intellectual notions of religion *is* found among Asiatic people. Even so, it is hardly plausible to ascribe a deliberate or reasoned attitude, such as that connoted by the word tolerance, on the part of a large group anywhere.

The autobiography of the Arya Somaj's founder is a good illustration. He and his editor both claim utmost friendliness and tolerance toward Islam and Christianity. Yet the invective of both is often most uncompromising. Says the editor, in another place:

"Many times the Mahomedan priests attempted to defend their religion, but could never muster courage to come before the Swamji to plead the cause of the Arabian religion, which so much

charmed the lust and lucre of the Bedouins in the dark ages of the world. The truth is that it is very difficult to help a lame dog over a style."[12]

They claim to be tolerant and yet at the same time take a position of superiority, finality, and universality that is most intolerant in its consequences:

"He was as much a friend of the Christians and Mohamedans as of the Hindus, and nobody was more anxious and desirous than himself of the purity of their religion, of the prosperity of their sub-lunar career, and of the felicity of their spiritual life. He taught no sectarian religion beneficial to a particular race of humankind; but he held out the universal religion of the Vedas, which is based on the economy of nature, the common mother of all the creatures."[13]

Among the lesser leaders, intolerance is unveiled. A Christian convert, in recalling his experience with Hinduism, says:

"My attention was not directed to the Jain religion, although there was a temple of that sect at Belgaum, for I had been strictly warned against it by the Brahman who had been employed to teach me religion. . . .

"I was taught by my Brahman teacher, who was a worshipper of Shiva, to consider the worship of Vishnu quite abominable, and he declared it would come to an end in 500 years."[14]

Expediency and vested interests can alone account for the fact that in India, for example, the Hindus and Moslems at times cooperate heartily and at times are bitterly antagonistic.[15]

The high-water marks of tolerance appear at certain junctures of the Brahma Samaj and other reform movements, but are usually restricted even here to such exceptional leaders as Ram Mohan Roy, Keshub Chunder Sen, Ramakrishna, and a small coterie of followers.

For instance, Ramakrishna says: "A truly religious man should think that other religions also are paths leading to the truth. We should always maintain an attitude of respect towards other religions."[16]

"The Brahma Mandir was formally opened on the 22nd of August, 1869. . . .Keshub described the objects and principles of the institution thus:—'This building is established with the object of paying reverence to all truths that exist in the world. This temple is founded with the object that all quarrel, all misunderstanding, all pride of caste may be destroyed, and all

brotherly feeling may be perpetuated. . . .' . . . .The declaration, mainly borrowed from the principles laid down by Raja Ram Mohun Roy in the establishment of the original Brahmo Somaj at Joyasanko, we give below:

"'. . . .No created being or object that has been or may hereafter be worshipped by any sect shall be ridiculed or contemned in the course of the Divine service to be conducted here. No book shall be acknowledged or revered as the infallible word of God; yet no book which has been, or may hereafter be aknowledged by any sect to be infallible, shall be ridiculed, or contemned. No sect shall be vilified, ridiculed, or hated. No prayer, hymn, sermon, or discourse to be delivered or used here, shall countenance or encourage any manner of idolatry, sectarianism, or sin. Divine service shall be conducted here in such spirit and manner as may enable all men and women, irrespective of distinctions of caste, color, and condition, to unite in one family, eschew all manner of error and sin, and advance in wisdom, faith, and righteousness.'"[17]

It must be admitted that Keshub Chunder Sen's understanding of the Christian Bible is in marked contrast to the information which a large number of Asiatic leaders have possessed. I have in mind the personnel of certain officials' opposition to Christianity in the East and their pronouncements upon missions.

"On the other hand, it was a naval officer of Tosa [Japan] who, in that same year (1867), published a memorial in which he expressed his grief that the religion of Jesus was being promulgated to an alarming extent in the open ports. He declared that the foreign priests were employing gold and gifts to seduce the people and make them instruments for deluding other victims. 'If we examine the fundamental principles of the religion of Jesus' he said, 'we are struck by discovering that it is entirely based upon deceit, immorality, and imposition.' "[18]

As we shall see, this sentiment is not at all unusual in mission history of the last century. It is significant here for this reason: even those supposed to be "tolerant" of differing religions in general may be intolerant toward the accessories of a religious system which they interpret as they do Christianity.

It may be, also, that certain men of leadership are for some years actually uncertain as to what attitude they should take toward a new religion and are therefore spoken of as tolerant toward it. This has been true of quite a group of intellectuals

in India, China, and Japan, at certain periods in the history of those countries. To give an instance, the obviously calculating attitude toward Christianity taken by the so-called tolerant leaders in Japan in the period before its proscription was lifted, coupled with their cognizance of the fact that desirable international treaties would be blocked if she continued to permit persecution of Christians—these played too prominent a part in their frame of mind to warrant our covering them up by the term tolerance.[19] The same is true of the leaders of that country in more recent times, whether in regard to Japan itself or to Korea.

> "A generation ago Christianity was regarded as bad in itself and quite alien to Japan. Now few educated Japanese, in Tokyo at least, would own to any dislike of Christianity, for this would argue that they were behind the times. 'Japan is not resisting Christianity because of an attachment to ancient faiths, but because it doubts whether Christianity will solve its difficulties.'"[20]

> . . . .The general attitude of the nation towards religion is ultimately political. 'Will it be for the good of the empire and the emperor?' seems to be the fundamental criterion that is always applied. . . . ."[21]

The reactions to foreign-ness already noted in the discussion of "Persistence of Suspicions and Misconceptions," make us doubtful whether the rank and file as contrasted with the leaders of any people, could be tolerant in the sense of being intellectually open-minded toward any strangers trying to proselytize them, in Orient or in Occident. Take for instance those of less complex cultures.

> "No Animist, at first, can form any other notion of the Christian religion than that it represents the deities of another nation and the ancestors of another people. How can one with their mode of thinking change his religion, which means really to adopt other ancestors. . . .Primitive man never dreams of trying to convert people of another nationality to his religion. . . .The proselytising zeal of the white man must therefore strike him as very strange."[22]

Constant testimony from the interior of the countries of the Far Orient, China, Japan, and India, as well as from more

"primitive peoples," indicates that among the masses tolerance is far too sophisticated a characteristic to exist: in fact, not even do the clearly defined, concrete objections against Christianity seem to exist in many cases. Illiterate and isolated from world currents as these people are, they seem merely to recognize the general strangeness of the newcomer and his innovations, and to have a vague feeling of either favor or disfavor towards him.

> Among primitive or illiterate men, this comes out whenever the innovation does not obviously fit in with their customs or their immediate needs. They may, if there seems to be a special reason for it, treat the Christian Bible, ceremonies, or prayers as they do their own:
>
> Crowther had presented to King Sagbua two Bibles and a steel corn mill from Prince Albert; and had read an exhortation from the Queen of England that the people should accept Christianity—besides making a little sermon of his own. A few days later, "Crowther was talking to him when he solemnly asked whether he ought not to offer some sacrifice to the beautiful things which he had received. Astonished, Crowther asked, 'What things? the corn mill or the Bibles?' 'The Bibles,' was the the prompt reply.' "[23]
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> One missionary says: "Christianity sets before the heathen something entirely strange and unintelligible to them."[24]
>
> Another missionary speaks of "my increasing perception of the fact that the majority of those who do hear and reject the Gospel reject it without any clear understanding of it."[25]
>
> The Report on Education claims: "The conclusion of the replies is unanimous that ignorance, not education, is the cause of the religious prejudice that mingles with the political movement; that more and not less education, both secular and religious, both higher and lower, is required."[26]

On the whole, they do not see any special reason for getting excited about the foreign propagandists, or for doing more than to listen to gossip about them and to pass it on—except they be stirred up by the more intelligent or the vested interests of the community.

> In China, for instance, "The common people, as a rule have but a languid interest in the movements of the missionary, and they are not deeply moved either by his failure or success in the work."[27]

They do not think of explaining the stranger beyond this or of inquiring as to what is his attitude toward them—and they do not inquire. They have their own interests; he is but a novelty to them. They do not understand what he has to say, except in a very crude way and they do not care to bother about it.

Inertia?—And so the special pleaders for tolerance are met by others who ascribe the indifference toward alien propaganda to inertia, to an inertia instilled by ages of hard conditions with no change of experience nor expectancy of change, with no mental alertness, with no interest in anything outside of their own immediate life besides, let us say, foreign dress or foreign music—and these may soon lose their novelty.

It is difficult for the cosmopolitan, promoting type of Occidental to realize the extent of this inertia. A recent correspondent to *The Freeman* of New York reminds us of observations in M.Huc's, *The Chinese Empire*, which it is well to bear in mind. To quote Huc:—

> ". . . .In ordinary times, and when they are not under the influence of any revolutionary movement. the Chinese are not at all inclined to meddle with affairs of government." In illustration Huc goes on to say:
>
> ". . . .In 1851, at the period of the death of the Emperor *Tao-Kouang*, we were travelling on the road from Pekin, and one day, when we had been taking tea at an inn in company with some Chinese citizens, we tried to get up a little political discussion.
>
> "We spoke of the recent death of the Emperor, an important event which, of course, must have interested everybody. We expressed our anxiety on the subject of the succession to the Imperial throne, the heir to which was not yet publicly declared . . . .We put forward, in short, all kinds of hypotheses, in order to stimulate these good citizens to make some observation. But they hardly listened to us. We came back again and again to the charge, in order to elicit some opinion or other, on questions that really appeared to us of great importance. But to all our piquant suggestions, they replied only by shaking their heads, puffing out whiffs of smoke, and taking great gulps of tea.
>
> "This apathy was really beginning to provoke us, when one of these worthy Chinese, getting up from his seat, came and laid his two hands on our shoulders in a manner quite paternal, and said, smiling rather ironically—

" 'Listen to me, my friend. Why should you trouble your heart and fatigue your head by all these vain surmises? The Mandarins have to attend to these affairs of State: they are paid for it. Let them earn their money, then. But don't let us torment ourselves about what does not concern us. We should be great fools to want to do political business for nothing.'

" 'That is very comformable to reason,' cried the rest of the company; and thereupon they pointed out to us that our tea was getting cold and our pipes were out."[28]

The State of Group Solidarity (or, Organization).—From the point of view of this study, general indifference to alien propagandists has been shown to be most natural for any organized group, for any group with solidarity, traditional background, and its own peculiar ways of satisfying basic needs; and it is quite conceivable that *tolerance* and mental *inertia*, when their connection with group organization is traced, may disappear as isolated problems. It was an Oriental trained in Confucian and Laotse-ian classics who told the writer that the leading people of his city regarded the missionaries as well-intentioned but somewhat foolish and harmless; and that even the common people, knowing only their outward behavior and reputation, thought of them in somewhat the same way. Taking the scholar first, it has been the attitude of superiority or self-prestige among such literati throughout China, as we have hinted earlier, which has seemed to result in the additional attitude of condescension. As such it is strictly the attitude of a class which must be regarded as highly organized in the sense previously described. Taking next the common people's opinion of the missionary in the Orient, we should bear in mind that it too is necessarily influenced by their group organization and consequent estimate of themselves: people who regard their own relative position in general as inferior, may think of the propagandists as more fortunate; or, again, however, they may posit themselves as superior in what Adler would call a "masculine protest," just to bolster up a delinquent sense of equality; again, finally, it is possible that they regard themselves without qualm or uncertainty as superior. Any of these attitudes may

appear to be tolerance or inertia, and yet in and of themselves, they may be more accurately viewed as symptoms of certain states of group organization and in turn of the situation it represents.

But when an African or Oceanic tribe comes under European colonial administration, when group authority is superseded and group tradition is discredited, and group prestige and solidarity begin to crumble, on account of the innovations, then the fundamental centripetal nature of the self-sufficing group disintegrates.

Even so, the special factors in the previous satisfactorily-continuing-group-life may stand out by themselves as separate protagonists, maintaining group or individual indifference. The medicine man may retain his power, the patriarchal family much of its influence. Reasons and excuses ordinarily given for continued indifference under these new conditions of group weakness or disorganization, may be as misleading as those for the indifference noted previously. They may seem accidental, whimsical, or ridiculously insignificant to the propagandist, or even to the observer.

Individuals, just like compact organized groups, if they are living more or less regular satisfactory lives—having a reasonable means of economic support, preserving family and personal backgrounds, accustomed to certain acceptable ways and beliefs, with self-prestige due to their own success in life—are not predisposed to break off on the tangent proposed by the propagandist.*

It should accordingly be clear that the native's indifference, failure-to-respond, or reluctance to place himself in the missionary's group, must be traceable to something more than vague intolerance, inertia, or even integrated group organization. And it is, both by the propagandists and by those opposing Christianity. In fact, it is charged to a number of separate issues.

*Youths are far more liable to do so than adults. They are in the process of acquiring habits and beliefs, have more energy and alertness, and very often are in a state of semi-rebellion against the authority of the family—especially if they have not been made docile by early training.

Those who definitely protest give reasons for their opposition which, they claim, apply also to mere indifference. There is little question that any specific issues responsible for indifference might be present in a more accentuated form in opposition. We are taking the liberty, therefore, of treating all these reasons together a little later under "Plausible Reasons for Rejection" (or, "Professed Causes and Occasions of Non-approving Behavior").

2. RESISTANCE

(Passive Opposition)*

As long as the natives do not issue tracts against the missionaries or denounce them, a hasty inference may be drawn that they are indifferent. Closer inspection may show that the presence of propagandists who are enticing away single members from a group, has caused anxiety, discussion, agitation; or that protective devices are being applied within the group to fortify it against further losses. Disapproval of the intruders is shown in every such symptom. The group is devoting itself to resistance without undertaking counter-aggression against the molesting forces.

Even a Macaulay, as he outlined England's policy for government education in India, far under-rated the power of resistance in those group forces that were slowly gathering momentum during such a reaction.

> In 1836 Macaulay wrote, "It is my firm belief that, if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single idolater among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence."
>
> In comment upon this prediction, Benton declares:
>
> ". . . .there are doubtless many more respectable Hindus, sound in the faith, in that country now, than there ever were in any previous age; whereas Macaulay would have had them all disappear in thirty years in consequence of the carrying out of his education scheme. Duff [the missionary] affirmed that all who received the Government education would become

*Cases of resistance will be treated later under "Plausible Reasons for Rejection." However, they deserve a word in this preliminary orientation. The outside observer is not apt to differentiate this reaction from those of indifference and counter attack and thus overlooks fundamental group reactions.

> infidels and anarchists. Macaulay thought there would only be an undefined number of infidels, but he made no allowance for any anarchists. As a matter of fact there are a few—few, I say, in comparison with the population or the educated . . . .Both are alike prophets of evil and, as good luck would have it, equally bad prophets. The reason is that they could form no idea of the resistance to change of the caste system."[29]

The various internal (intra-group) means used by religious sects reacting thus, are given at considerable length in our discussion of ". . .Self-Protection as a Typical Motive," in Chapter VII. We are therefore proceeding directly to a few preliminary illustrations, and suggestions for their interpretation from the standpoint, again, of group organization.

Withdrawal from the Alien Group (the They-Group).—Ross would probably call resistance (passive opposition) a tightening of group bonds. To quote a relevant generalization:

> "For it is a universal law that the bonds of any group, be it great or small, tighten with danger and relax with security."[30]

But "tightening group bonds" is too brief and figurative a characterization and possibly too limited, to cover all that takes place. Moreover, it would seem to pertain only to the withdrawing or avoiding activities of non-Christians, such as restraining one's self and others from contacts with the propagandists. For, we take it that Ross refers to reactions parallel to the snail's pulling in its horns on contact with outside objects, the rat's running to its hole, or the attacked human being going back to his group for physical protection or comfort (psychic protection). Attack or deprecation by an outsider does tend to drive the individual further into his habitual group, to stir the group consciousness, and to produce a greater group immunity from the strange and harmful. Accompanying this defensive retreat, also, there is likely to be flung back at the intruder, a retort, a verbal counter-attack, to "save the face" of the retreating man—an assertion that he is not afraid, has not time to bother, or will not stoop to unfair means.

Now the aloof or withdrawing reaction is seen commonly when parents, elders, or priests give orders that no one shall attend

the proselytizers' meetings. It is seen on a large scale in a community's or country's conscious aversion to evangelistic effort or Christian education.

> "The smallness of the number of secondary schools for Indian girls is chiefly due to the absence of demand. Although many Indian gentlemen allow that the nation will be raised when the women are better educated, there is a dread, perhaps more widely felt than expressed, that the general education of women means a social revolution, the extent of which cannot be foreseen. A small and well-marked section of the community is entirely out of sympathy with this view, but the people at large only tolerate the education of their girls up to an age and standard at which it can do little good, or, from their point of view, little harm. This is not quite universal."[31]

> "This daughter [i.e., of Habeeb] and her cousin were the first girls of the village to brave public opinion so far as to leave home for school. 'What does a girl need of learning?' had been the old idea among the simple village folk. They feared the girls' heads would be filled with useless ambitions and that they would no longer accept the conditions of their old life, and hence parents were averse to the idea."[32]

The same general attitude may be taken toward other specific innovations or toward the Christian movement as a whole. "The strict views and practice of the Christian church in regard to the institution of marriage has generally deterred polygamists, even when attracted by the truth, from offering themselves as candidates from baptism."[33] Holding aloof from the Christian church for any of scores of reasons, shades off into this same general category. Specific protests and aloofness together certainly represent a passive opposition.

Prophylaxis Against the Alien Influences (Intra-group Adjustment Fortifying the We-Group).—To cover a wider scope than avoiding reaction alone, however, we prefer to regard passive opposition as the accumulation and releasing of resistance and emotion in responses of any sort that are not noticeably overt aggression toward the source of the stimulus; it must include, for instance, the making of protective readjustments *within the group* by that release. Not to anticipate our more complete analysis of the group's protective technique in Chapter

VII, it is worth while noting examples of such an adjustment which has the marks of a constructive mobilization undertaken to prevent surrender to the enemy.

> "Anarchism flung itself against the British Government and fell back broken. . . .But the same high love for India and will to be spent for her sake have found healthy channels for themselves along various lines. In all these movements the main notes of the period ring out very distinctly; the end in view in each case is the national advancement; the religious sanction is always in the back-ground, even if it is not distinctly expressed; the work is of the nature of unselfish service; and high passion inspires the whole. We subdivide the movements into four groups, industrial, social, artistic, and poetic."[34]
>
> The author then takes up at some length movements in: Industry, Science, Economics; Social and Political Service—Help for the Depressed Classes, Universal Education, The Servants of India Society, The Seva Sadan—; Fine Art and Music; Poetry.[34]

Here the non-violent intra-group activity is a second reaction, following upon the thwarting of the first, violent, outward thrust against the outside or they-group. Both spring from the same defensive spirit—call it "love for India" or what you will.

And within the religious parish, sect, or other sub-group of non-Christian countries, similar adjustments are made in order to meet the consequences of colonial and missionary forces.

> ". . . .The Malays have a house of prayer, or Mosque, at Sarawak, and the Klings, who are Mohametans of another sect, have one also. They are more attentive to their religion, since we came here, than they used to be before. Some years ago, the Mosque had almost fallen to decay, and the people were not disposed to give money to build it up again; but now the Mosque is quite a good-looking building, and they have lately surmounted it with a great brass ball, which glitters in the sun and draws all eyes to it. Since our church-bell has called the few Christians in the place twice every day to public worship, the Hadjis, or Priests, have insisted on their people also attending daily service in the Mosque, and fined them in rice and fowls, if they failed in the due observance of their stated hours of prayer; and now you hear, before and after sunset, a man calling from the top of the Mosque, in Arabic—'It is the hour of prayer: there is but one God, and Mahomet is His Prophet.' This is their confession of faith, as the Apostles' Creed is ours. . . ."[35]
>
> Farquhar reports: "In recent years the chief efforts made by Muslims in defence of their religion have had as their object the production of preachers, teachers and missionaries of a more

modern type. They wish them to be cultured men, fit to lead and reach those who have had an English education; and they wish them to be well-trained theologians, able to defend Islam against Christian, Arya and Hindu criticism, and to carry the war into the enemy's territory.

"In 1894 a Defence Association was formed, the Nadwatul-Ulama, or Society of Muslim Theologians, which has its central office in Lucknow. . . .

. . . . . .

"Most of their money and activity has been spent in founding and maintaining in Lucknow a divinity school of a new type meant to provide a more enlightened education for the Mohammedan clergy. It is called the Dar-ul-ulum (i.e. School of Theology) of the Nadwatul-Ulama and dates from 1898. They wish to establish such institutions elsewhere."[36]

This reinforcing behavior seems to be closely related to the temporary wariness towards the incomprehensible and threatening forces mentioned as an initial reaction: there is at first a sense of loss and of uncertainty where the intruders have shown evidence of power, and there is a sense of incapacity either to control the situation they are liable to precipitate or to oppose them aggressively. These attitudes are supplemented by vindictive resentment against the innovators for bringing about such a situation, and by embarrassment or exasperation with the nagging opposition from parties in one's own group, either radical or conservative, or both. But the constructive efforts toward reorganization go beyond these reactions. They indicate the development beyond resentment, beyond self-awareness, and beyond mental perspective over the situation, into a policy and program of intra-group effort. They spend themselves in fortification against injury and in preparation for combat.

3. COUNTER-ATTACK

Here the Rejection Process is More Evident.—The causes of the rejection of Christian propaganda become plainer in any of the more acute stages of reaction. The mechanism of group counter-attack is thrown into silhouette more clearly than that of passive opposition, and this in turn than that of indifference. Both passive and active opposition come into

clearer evidence after they have been under way for a while, as in the case of the various religious movements in India, or as in the case of Islam where there has been a fairly consistent opposition from the very first.

In many communities where scantiness of statistics on Moslem converts to Christianity might otherwise mean merely a failure-to-respond, the intra-group use of shibboleths and catch-words from times of ancient conquest may disclose a momentum of scorn and antagonism which is deep-laid in centuries of action, sentiment, and characterization—an "inherited" mechanism of passively antagonistic response.

But it is the overt expressions of action, both past and present, which are most striking, if not most revealing. Employed in Islam's first efforts to inflame zeal for campaign and conquest, evoked henceforth to feed a developed group esteem, embodied in national law, sanctioned by religious authority—a habitual mode of response cut in granite—that is the explanation of reaction-systems and attitudes behind the legal probibition and fanatic violence we have noted in cases of Islam's violent counter-attack. This traditional momentum of antagonism is possible only where there has been rivalry and hatred for centuries, and where this antipathy is crystalized in custom and law and dyed indelibly upon public opinion and prejudice. The contacts of Moslems with Christianity since their early conquests, have accentuated their original attitude of group superiority, and have deposited in their oral and written tradition even more epithets, criticisms, or slanders. These become emotional realities to priest and layman as quickly as they imagine the infidels are thrusting themselves forward and trying to convert them.

Even if a religious group has not clashed with Christianity, all down through its history, and has not therefore developed a specialized attitude of rivalry and antipathy deeply ingrained in its mores—even so, if it is strong and powerful and has the characteristics of a highly organized group, it is liable to develop an obstinate opposition. The Hindu groups seemed to be a long time coming to the realization that Christianity was a determined

opponent; once they came to realize it, they set on foot a tremendous movement for the effective meeting of the new enemy's attack. Thereupon shibboleths, attitudes, and technique of opposition such as we have seen traditionalized among the Moslems, began to develop.

Race Antipathy?—The antagonism of the Moslem and the Hindu worlds is so obstinate that it is sometimes attributed to a deep-seated instinctive antipathy of race.

> In a statement endorsed by the Report, we read: "Only it must be remembered that there are no more conservative races in the world than those which have come under the influence of Islamism, and that the conflicts of fourteen centuries have opened a blood-stained chasm between Moslems and Christians which very few Moslems have ever crossed. They generally believe that from their side it is impossible,—that no Moslem can ever be a genuine convert to Christianity."[37]

It is declared that in some cases this racial antagonism has become more intense through traditional cultivation, and in some it is quite spontaneous. In some it takes an acute and vehement form, and in some it shades into a desire to secure profit directly or through emulation. It is popularly charged that racial antipathy seriously complicates the reception of propaganda, prejudicing its possessors against innovation from other peoples.

Complete analysis is not called for here; there has already been considerable investigation of the subject. We suggest that if the reader has no fixed opinion on it, he regard the question largely as one of prestige, due to economic power and technique on the one hand and to strangeness or foreign-ness elsewhere discussed, on the other; and these two factors as unconsciously symbolized in the outward signs of color, odor, etc. Biologically there seems to be no race antagonism; race *difference* is another question entirely, and doubtless enters into the situation vitally though indirectly.* Color is the most ineradicable element in

*In summarizing his own and previous investigation upon the higher mental capacities of the Negro by the use of tests presumably devised in experimentation with Whites, Ferguson asserted in 1916 that they indicate the Negro to be only three-fourths as efficient as the White with the same amount of training. There are, however, he avers, no tests available for adequately investigating the feeling and dynamic sides of mental life. See Ferguson, 25 and 123.

the situation with which the in-group (or, we-group) is liable to identify everything undesirable in the out-group (or, they-group). It is therefore a powerful carrier of antagonisms, after these have been formed by other means.[38]

Leadership.—One source of persistent opposition within traditional and temporary groups of every type is professional leadership. In any society the bulwark of conservatism against intruders and instigators of innovation, is supposed to be the wardens, the vested interests, the professional leaders, the elite. The masses are supposed to be followers, imitators. The control and manipulation of the masses was maintained formerly by keeping resources and power and training-in-thinking away from them; and more recently, by focusing the attention of public opinion through the press.[39] Ample evidence will come out to warrant careful consideration of this topic.

> Take China, for instance. The first widespread opposition to Christianity, as we shall see, developed among officials and literati.
>
> The subsequent attitude of these groups is given by Wright: "The Opium War of 1842 resulted in greater freedom to the Christians, but the promises contained in the treaties were frequently broken, and so long as the dynasty lasted, the authorities connived at breaking of them as much as they dared. Chinese Christianity was in constant need of the protection of foreign powers, and would have been destroyed without it."[40]
>
> And, finally, as a Chinese with the prestiged classical education put it to me in 1919, "As for hating the foreigners, the Chinese people could not because their officials will not let them, and higher up the foreign ministers will not allow it."

Yet the sweeping generalization of Tarde on imitation as the key to the phenomena of leadership, must be replaced by a functional analysis of the operation of specific factors and processes.

Other Aspects of Group Organization.—Counter-attack, and all of its phenomena, seem to follow naturally from the characteristics of "highly organized groups" outlined earlier. It seems to draw momentum from these group forces and to make them all tools for its maintenance and propagation.*

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*In this connection, E.A. Ross' observation is significant: "This collective resistance to innovation is most marked in oppressed peoples (Jews, Poles, Armenians) with whom the inherited culture is at once a badge of ancient glories, a bond of union, and a defiance to their oppressors." Ross, (B), 197.

Of course, more accidental and incidental circumstances may affect it, but the elements maintaining group organization are, roughly speaking, about as satisfactory a basis as any popular one for including the most prominent factors likely to resist change by counter-attack, or likely to be manipulated for that purpose by the leaders of a group. Whatever of these elements—e.g., custom, sacred book, civil code, prestige, etc., as outlined in Chapter II—,in any complex-culture group are drawn into the arena by the direct or indirect implications of propaganda, or whatever ones are peculiarly sensitive, these are likely to precipitate a conflict.

> ". . . .Islam is a political as well as a religious system. This fact lies at the foundation of the whole situation. There is logically as little release from the obligation to persecute the Christian and punish by death the Moslem who accepts the Christian faith, as there is release from the obligation to believe in the Prophet and observe the fast. Both are grounded upon divine authority and are clearly prescribed by the Koran. When to this religious necessity there are added the incentives of a cruel nature, of bigotry and fanaticism, of pride and material advantage, of political intrigue and partisan movements, it can readily be seen that the law of hostility to the Christian will not fail of enforcement."[41]

Aversion to Innovation and Change.—After viewing such antagonisms from the point of view of race, of vested leadership, and other crystalized features of highly organized group life, we would still have fundamental points of view that need to be considered. Most communities tend to oppose innovations of many sorts. In a valuable paper on "The Persistence of Primary-Group Norms," W. I. Thomas has described the social apparatus involved in this opposition: "All usual and habitual practices are emotionalized, become behavior norms, and tend to resist change."[42]* "When the code has been defined," he

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*Marett says, "The value of a traditional practice does not depend on its consequences, but simply on the fact that it is the practice." Marett, (A), 185.

says earlier, "no matter what its content, its violation provokes an emotional protest from society designed to be painfully felt by the offender."[43]* Boas, in his well-known work on *The Mind of Primitive Man*, discusses opposition to innovation in primitive and developed societies, from a general psychological viewpoint, asserting that, rationalizations notwithstanding, it is due merely to molestation or interference with the habitual.

> "It is important to note that in all the cases mentioned the rationalistic explanation of the opposition to a change is based on that group of concepts with which the excited emotions are intimately connected. In the case of costume, reasons are adduced why the new style is improper; in the case of heresy, proof is given that the new doctrine is an attack against eternal truth; and so with all the others.
>
> "I think, however, that a close introspective analysis shows these feelings to be only attempts to interpret our feelings of displeasure; that our opposition is not by any means dictated by conscious reasoning, but primarily by the emotional effect of the new idea which creates a dissonance with the habitual.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> ". . . .I think we are justified in concluding from our own experience, that as among ourselves, so among primitive tribes, the resistance to deviation from firmly established customs is due to an emotional reaction, not to conscious reasoning."[44]

Thomas, however, goes still further in his assertion that nonconformity is discountenanced because, attached to every norm of the community is the feeling that the community's norms are final.

> ". . . .The main purpose of what I have said up to this point was to show that 'human behavior norms' are not only very arbitrary, but, precisely because behavior norms, so highly emotionalized that they claim to be absolutely right and final and subject to no change and no investigation. Moreover, every norm claims to be *the* norm, the normal, and any departure from it is

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*In illustration, the author goes on to say: "It is a matter of no intrinsic importance whether you carry food to the mouth with the knife or the fork, but the situation has been defined in favor of the fork, with grave emotional and social consequences—disgust and social ostracism. In short, any definition, however arbitrary, that is embodied in the habits of the people is regarded as right." Jennings, etc., 169.

> abnormal. And eventually every practical custom or habit, every moral, political, religious view claims to be *the* norm—not to recognize, in Dr. Meyer's phrase, the varying standards of normality—and to treat as abnormal whatever does not agree with it. In practice, as I have shown by examples, a social technique based upon a rigid system of norms tends to suppress all the social energies which seem to act in a way contrary to the norm, and to ignore all the social energies not included in the norm."[45]

Other studies of behavior, which select different problems and are based on a different conception of psychological analysis, give us clues also. Scientific experiment, psycho-analytic cases, and collated data of introspection throw light upon the mental situations evoking the emotions and behavior found in opposition. Those which refer to the situations arousing fear and anger are particularly pertinent in any study of counter-attack, which depends so largely upon these tendencies. But this anticipates our own analysis, which in turn has grown out of data more specialized than that we have so far noted.

4. MATERIALS AND PROCEDURE

In gathering material for the further analysis of the different habitual attitudes towards Christian propaganda, we have found ourselves confronted with a great confusion of contradictory testimony in partisan and particularistic group phraseology, more baffling than that used to describe the more evident initial reactions.

Untenable Use of Categories.—The Commission of the World Missionary Conference devoting its investigation to *The Missionary Message*, for instance, analyzes the "Hindrances in the Way of Conversion to Christianity" for each racial or national section of the world as moral, intellectual, or social hindrances. The only qualification offered with this classification is a footnote saying that "the ideas connoted by 'Moral Hindrances' and 'Social Hindrances' tend to pass into each other, and can only with difficulty, and perhaps with some arbitrariness, be separated."[46] Under Moral Hindrances

found among Animistic Religions, it is asserted: "The chief moral hindrance may be stated in general terms as the existence of a very low moral consciousness. . . . conscience seems hardly to exist." (The statement thus ignores differences in "moral" standards and assumes that "conscience" is not psychologically evolved, but is a given absolute.) Under Intellectual Hindrances, it says: "The Animist knows nothing of man's free will. . . . It is largely because of the absence of reflection that they are in bondage to superstition and witchcraft, are a prey to the fear of evil spirits, and find it difficult to believe in the reality of eternal things." (The Report does not refer to superstition and witchcraft among Puritan and mediaeval Christians often accompanied by Christian metaphysical reflection, nor to the Westerners' vivid belief like that of Animists in the reality of other-worldly beings, in justifying its generalization!) The eating of cow's flesh by Christians is classified as a moral hindrance among Hindus, and "on the borderland between the moral and intellectual hindrances is the Moslem's pride in his own religion and in the Arabian language as the language of heaven." In describing the causes of Animists' more persistent rejection of Christianity, the Commission says:

> "Opposition is generally made to the Gospel on account of its high moral claims or its standard of purity, and in particular on account of its condemnation of polygamy and immorality.
>
> "Opposition is also provoked by the Christian plea for the improvement of the status of women, by insistence on individual responsibility as opposed to tribal unity."[47]

The confusion caused by such categories and by the method of their use, is too obvious to call for further comment.

Data of Partisanship.—How are we to proceed? As we remarked in the Introduction, comprehensive disinterested descriptions of the behavior resulting from Christian propaganda are practically non-existent. Of course, we might lay out a technique for an immediate analysis of the partisan data in terms

of bio-psychological needs and interests.* But in and of itself its very partisan form is too significant to pass over. It warrants careful scrutiny, if nothing more. For thus we may be able to isolate prepossessions of sentiment and idea which in themselves are important data. In lieu, therefore, of any strictly psychological or sociological classification of similar partisanly-phrased data, we shall take it more or less at its face value for the time being and classify it according to *popular sociological methods* as a preliminary step to further analysis.

Procedure.—At the very outset, it is evident that the partisan explanations of behavior toward Christian propaganda lend themselves to treatment in two main divisions; viz., explanations of non-approving reactions, and explanations of approving reactions. This fits in with the fact already intimated in this chapter, that, from the standpoint of group organization and the psychology of the reactions, indifference and resistance (passive opposition) have much in common with active opposition and therefore are profitably treated with it. Grouping together, therefore, the explanations offered for these three non-approving types of behavior, we shall first turn to them. They may be conveniently spoken of as "Plausible Reasons for Rejection" ("Professed Causes and Occasions of Non-approval"). Their examination should yield us two results. As just remarked, it should disclose the bias which colors the data of reaction. Through this means it should clear the ground for a more direct analysis of non-approving reactions—of indifference, passive opposition, and counter-attack—with which different peoples and groups meet the impact of the exotic innovations. It might yield clues for this analysis. Whatever progress we make in method, by handling this material, should be useful in our approach to the next general lot of data on favorable (or, approving) reactions and the explanations offered to account for them.

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*Taken up in Appendix II, illustrated in Chapter VII, and applied in Chapters IX and X.

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CHAPTER V

PLAUSIBLE REASONS FOR REJECTION

(Professed Causes and Occasions of Non-Approving Behavior: "Secondary Explanations")

1. DIFFERENCE IN MORES

Sheer Alien-ness.—That sheer difference in customs, folkways, or mores is a common reason for non-approval, is the testimony of alien propagandist and native alike. The practices, sentiments, and ideas of the missionary taken as a whole, are foreign. From his clothes and methods of eating and drinking, on up to his theology and philosophy, he is vividly strange. He himself is so peculiar that a heaven full of such people may seem not only a pale-faced assembly to the American Indian, the Negro, and the Asiatic, but at best a strange and uncomfortable place.

> " 'Puppy's mother' . . .has known three generations of missionaries who have lived here, and has been dressmaker to all of them. . . .It was to Mrs. Liang she confided one day that there seemed little inducement to repent and be saved, if going to heaven would entail associating with foreigners for all eternity."[1]

Most vague and unintelligibly queer to the ordinary man, is his religion. Possibly it is foolish, possibly electric with dangerous magic, possibly arduous.

> "They don't hear of a religion interested in the earth; they hear nothing about the way to become rich and happy, or how to preserve one's soul power through all dangers; they hear instead of a relation to God, of sin and forgiveness, of resurrection and life after death and final judgment, pure novelties, which to the heathen intent on this world seem to be sheer foolishness. The new religion speaks of blessings for which they have no desire and depreciates those which they deem precious."[2]

> "Especially were they struck with the prayers in the service; they evidently were able to appreciate. . .the comprehensive scope of these petitions. 'Ha! ha! ha!' exclaimed the chief. 'So they pray to Olorun (God) for everything, for all people, for their enemies even—we never heard of the like before.' "[3]

"Even now many who hear the gospel and are inclined towards it, are kept away by fear of our hymn-book! They, in their ignorance think Christians are compelled to learn to read hymns, and they dread their inability. Often have I heard interested hearers say, *Tsz p'o' oh-fu-ch'i*, 'I fear I could not learn.' "[4]

Even for the "cultured" or the "educated," it is too alien for serious consideration, we are often told.

". . . .Amongst cultured peoples, on the other hand, entrenched behind their own forms of civilization and literature, it is of no advantage for the missionary to be a foreigner."[5]

Of the missionary's schools, Faust declares:

". . . .the strongest argument that continues to be advanced against these schools is that they are largely 'foreign' schools. Most of the Christian secondary schools, however, are now controlled by a board of directors half foreign and half Japanese. . . ."[6]

"But why disapproval?" the Christian supporter of missions asks. "Why anything else?" the non-Christian instantly rejoins.

"They think it natural," says Warneck, "that foreign missionaries should have their own different religion, but that they should wish the natives to adopt it instead of Animism is something unheard of. The foreign white custom is, no doubt, suited to the wise and mighty white people. But how can it be suited to poor and ignorant Battaks or Alfurus? Can the brown man become white?"[7]

Says the more sophisticated biographer of Dayanand, the founder of the Arya Samaj:

"Among the many blessings a people receives from its great men the most important one is that they serve as ideals to their countrymen. And every nation has one or more ideals which guide the people in their perilous path through earthly life. That ideal is of the greatest practical value, which is reared in the native soil of a nation. A foreign ideal is of little use, as its actions are impractical from the change of local environments."[8]

Just imagine an African cannibal, a Thibetan Lama, a Bengal Hindu, or an Arabian Mohammedan coming to your town as an utter stranger, and expecting to teach his religion to your children and to win you to adopt his customs, prohibitions, and

beliefs! "Unsuited" would be the mildest of your comments. Among the most primitive and the most advanced peoples the propagandist has reported that his work is handicapped by its being regarded as repulsively foreign, repulsively Occidental, repulsively white. And even where, for example, *yang kwei tsu* ("foreign devil") is no more heard in the Chinese village, *wai kuo ren* ("foreigner") is on the lips of the smallest chattering child as the missionary goes down an unfrequented street.

As we have indicated in discussing "Revising General Notions" in Chapter III, some of this aversion is due to the tendency to react toward all things of a general class (in this case alien agencies, whether military, economic, or religious) in the same way.

> In criticism of Sir Robert Hart's reference to missionaries, Mr. Jernigan, a late American lawyer of wide influence in China, says:
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> ". . . .If the Chinese do regard the presence of Christian missionaries as a standing insult to both their Gods and conduct, it is doubtful if they are really half as much concerned about the religious feature as they are about the presence in their country of the foreigner who represents that feature. . . .No one knows better than Sir Robert Hart that the Government of China does not want foreigners in China. The Chinese do not concern themselves with regard to religion to the extent of taking the subject very seriously, and if it be that they do resent Christianity as an insult, the reason may possibly be found in the injudicious course of some missionaries. . . .No people adhere more closely to custom than the Chinese, and whatever opposes their customs have met with violent opposition from them, for they have opposed the introduction of foreign merchandise as strongly as they ever opposed the introduction of the Christian religion." [He might have added such items as that the first railway line in China was torn up by an indignant mob, because it disturbed the spirits and put some of the coolies out of work, etc.][9]

Even after almost a century of contact with Asia and Africa, the flavor of alien-ness stirs opposition to Christian customs and belief. Missionaries with long experience and wide

acquaintance among the Chinese have declared to the writer that not only is the basic barrier to missionary work its foreign background, but that they do not know of any Chinese who does not have the strong latent desire to see foreigners out of the country. Still more is this likely to be true, of course, in Japan, India, and Moslem countries. It is a fact, however, that one finds individual missionaries in almost every degree of intimacy and friendliness with indigenous races, as we shall indicate in our sketch of the propagandist himself.

A word further. It is quite usual for even a Chinese trained in a foreigner's school for a number of years, especially one educated abroad, to be spoken of by his own countrymen as a foreigner, and in a derogatory way. "Returned students" high in government employ at the capital of China have given the writer this as their own experience.

All may be true. Our only point here is that in any thorough study of non-approval, we believe the data demands that the permanent effects of foreign-ness of mores must be considered as one of its "professed causes." And while aversion to a break-with-the-habitual, or to an interfering-situation (suggested by Thomas, Boas, and others) is fundamental, yet the readiness with which some seem to welcome the innovation calls for the further kind of analysis which Thomas suggests and which we shall elaborate in analyzing approving responses. However, our main concern is now with data, not refinements of psychological and sociological analysis.

Magico-Religious Aspects of the Mores.—To some it may seem almost too obvious for statement that when non-Christians do not seek Christianity, it is partly because, as a religion, it does not make sufficient appeal to them; and that when they oppose it, it is partly because they oppose it as a religion. The missionaries come primarily to bring the Christian religion. They preach it to audiences; they teach it to classes; they perform its ceremonies in public; they claim to live it,—i.e., to live as nearly as they think they can according to the conduct it requires. And as a religion it is rejected.

The testimony on this point is presented from the angles both of the rejector and of the thing rejected. On the one hand, it indicates that very frequently non-approval comes *from religious groups* when it does not come from sources which are both religious and secular. The Report claims, for instance, that "opposition of Indian Mohammedanism to Christianity proceeds . . . . not from the conditions of social life but from their religion."[10] On the other hand, this lot of testimony naturally overlaps another set of it which indicates *aversion to Christianity as a comprehensive "culture-complex."* Certain Hindus or Buddhists may accept a few beliefs of orthodox Christianity, but yet refuse to accept the Christian religion as a whole.

As a corollary to this second contention, non-approval is declared to exist towards *specific aspects* of Christianity. Now the specific aspects of the innovating mores which are regarded as religious are different in different instances. Many or all of them must be treated separately as "Specific Mores" given as professed causes of non-approval, in any adequate analysis; and several are so introduced in the next section. The complexity of a religion makes this imperative, for, as William James says, we cannot define a religion by only one of its elements, we must include the entire composite of feelings, beliefs, activities, and organization. But we are now contending that aversion to missions is evidenced by a more general set of sentiments and convictions regarding Christianity as a religion.

The religious issue must be clearly grasped, because certain partisans seem to claim that it is not the Christian religion to which these people object, but solely the foreign wrappings, or the strange customs and alien agents. Testimonies are very easy to obtain in non-Christian countries that there is also definite objection to what is conceived of as the innovating religion itself, Christianity. In fact, as will appear later, non-Christians are often anxious to get accessories to Christianity which the missionary brings, the education, the English lessons, the prestige of acquaintance with the foreigner—but the sum total of what they regard as the religion of Christianity, this they eschew.

There is no question—to note a typical concrete case—that a very large number of non-Christians vehemently oppose the joining of the Christian church by their relatives.

> For example, in 1920 an official of China, learned that his son, then attending a missionary college in the neighborhood, was considering acceptance of Christianity and entrance into the Christian church. Evangelistic meetings were being held on the campus at the time. In order to remonstrate personally with him, the father sent some of his attendant soldiers to escort his son home. The boy was told that he was too young to make a decision to accept Christianity, and must not do so at that time. He accepted his father's will and returned to school. The opposition illustrated here can be duplicated in part by turning to almost any of the convert biographies published.

Others oppose the more insidious printed page and children's story, or any of a number of evangelistic agencies.

> When ethics for school children was being discussed by representatives of several normal schools in a certain province in China in 1920, a progressive leader made this remark: "We need a children's magazine. There is one, but it has too much about God in it. I do not object to that: to me it is all ethical in its results. But many Chinese children will not read it, because their parents object to it."*

There is no doubt that Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, and the reformed sects within them are, as religious groupings,† stoutly antagonistic to Christianity as another religious grouping threatening to displace them. The inspection of typical magazines such as the *Review of Religions*, the *Mohammadan*, the *Mussalman*, (Moslem magazines) and the *Vedantist*, *Vedanta Kesari*, and *Prabuddha Bharata*, (Hindu magazines) available in English,—not to speak of those in foreign languages—show this clearly. It comes out, however, in any of a score of general

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*He was referring to *Happy Childhood*, a children's magazine edited by Miss Laura White of the M. E. Church, published in Shanghai, China.

†It is well known that the materials on Hindu and Islamic opposition to missions in India and the Near East, are abundant. It should be noted also that there are ample materials on Buddhist opposition in Japan (see Cary, (A), I and II), not to speak of Shinto and Confucian. We quote sources on China in the text.

The question comes up later in the text, also. See the discussion of "Professional Guardianship and Other Vested Interests" in section 4, Chap. VI below.

magazines published in the non-Christian world which are devoted to social, political, literary, and other cultural interests. Acquaintance with the history, tendencies and movements of any of the greater non-Christian religions shows the same.

The best summary of the question of tolerance versus persecution of religion on religious grounds, in *China*, is Wright's *Religious Persecution in China*. Evidently basing his conclusions in large part on the data presented in de Groot's *Sectarianism and Religious Persecution in China*, and refuting all counter-opinions, he declares: "Nowhere is the religious element absent in motives for persecution." In explanation of the usual failure to observe the religious motive in Chinese persecutions, he asserts: "On the one hand, the character of the Chinese of all classes, even to the observer of many years, is apt to appear far more indifferent to religious considerations than the character of Westerners; and on the other, religious persecution, though more fierce and bloody than that in Europe, has been in the hands of a few and its periods are separated by other and longer periods of apparent indifference."[11]

In tracing the traditional authority for this opposition to religious innovation, he quotes even from the Analects of Confucius. "The study of heresies is harmful indeed," they say. But, asserts Wright, "the iteration of solemn warnings, of the need of filial piety, especially to the dead, of the need for sincerity and sacrifice, and of the power and wisdom of heaven, with that great warning, that he who offends against heaven has none to whom he can pray, all swell the chorus making the background against which the warning about heresy stands out quite plainly."[12]

In *India* the religious protest is felt even in the apparently social movements directed against governmental supervision by foreigners:

"It is clear as noonday that the religious aspect of anarchism was merely an extension of that revival of Hinduism which is the work of Dayananda, Ramakrishna, Vivekananda and the Theosophists. Further, the historical is almost as close as the logical connection. Dayananda started the Anti-cow-killing agitation in 1882. The movement grew until, in 1888, it had reached colossal proportions; and in 1893 Tilak made it one of his most potent tools. Krishnavarma was a pupil of Dayananda; Lajpat Rai was for many years one of the chief leaders of the Arya Samaj; and Vivekananda's brother Bhupendra was one of the most influential of the anarchist journalists of Calcutta."[13]

In the Introduction to the autobiography of Dayanand, founder of the Arya Somaj, the first of those Farquhar refers to in the quotation just given, the editor says:

"About half a century ago the religious state of the Hindus was deplorable. The people, tho' well off from the worldly point of view, were . . .sunk in gross idolatry and content with the performances of externalism as the evident signs of true religion. Elaborate and cumbrous ceremonial at the temples, and fatigue and expense of long pilgrimages to sacred shrines and streams were regarded as the highest aspiration of the religious and pious mind. Both priests and people were in the dark as to what the scriptures contained. Their false translations supported the prevalent practice of religion. How long could such a state last?

"Christian missionaries, whose learned works were included in the curriculum of mission and state schools, exposed the weaknesses of the popular Hindu faith, and set their own in brilliant colours before the amazed and gaping Hindu youths, whose ignorance of their ancestral faith gave them no option but to embrace the Christian religion either secretly or openly. Their sordid priests sometimes joined the Christian church from worldly considerations and then betrayed the hidden uglinesses of the scriptures of their own manufacture. Except those whose object was to make money and live the life of the senses as is manifest in the agricultural and commercial people, all the thinking portion of the Hindu community was inclined to the simple and apparently rational teachings of the missionaries. Had this state continued longer, the catastrophe of conversion to Christianity would have been tremendous and appalling. But it was not so fated.

"From the ancient forest and weird fastness of the venerable Himalayas was heard a clarion voice of a broad-chested holy son of India, calling on all that had ear to hear to halt before proceeding farther on their wrong course to think what they were after. It was no other than the thunder voice of Swami Dayanand Saraswati, who had mastered the Vedas independently of the spurious commentaries, and who had gone through three thousand ancient books to make sure of his sense of the Vedas. His chaste and ascetic life and profound and logical knowledge soon succeeded in showing the falsity of the popular Hindu religion which has no support in the Vedas, the supreme authority on religion, and in demolishing the Christian missionaries and Mahomedan priests in a few representative discussions held in different parts of the country. People advanced in education

were naturally attracted to him as he spoke from authority and commanded extensive acquaintance with sacred and philosophical lore of Indian antiquity. He thus saved the Hindu people from religious and national effacement."[14]

Regarding typical discourses of Dayanand given in Rajputana in 1882, his biographer declares:

". . . .His master mind endowed with heavenly knowledge and accompanied with extraordinary power of oratory pulled down to pieces the hoary structures of superstition, viz., Hinduism, Jainism, Christianity and Mahomedanism. Although it was announced everyday that the professors of those religions should come forward to defend them, yet none ever thought of speaking a word in favor of those monuments of anthropomorphism."[15]

In view of the claims of certain Christian sects that other Christian sects do not represent Christianity, it is pertinent to ask what effect is attributed to this difference in sects. Obviously there are the various Protestant churches on the one side and over against them the Roman Catholic, and sometimes the Greek. Among the great mass of non-Christians, there seems to be no discrimination between them of a fundamental sort. All belong to the "foreign worship" or "foreign doctrine," just as all non-natives in the Far East are commonly designated "foreigners."

(Missionaries and other aliens in China are frequently asked by those who have heard something of outside countries, as to what country they have come from.)

Even among converts, as we shall see in another volume, the distinctions come slowly and are quite external for some time. Of the distinctions between Catholics and Protestants little is heard except among the small number of literates and educated. These and others who associate with Christians in the Far East speak of the Catholics as the "Lord of Heaven Church" and the Protestants as the "Jesus Church." Yet, a half century back, a knowledge of sectarian and theological differences is occasionally found among upper class non-Christians.

Regarding Protestants, a Japanese anti-Christian pamphlet circulated in 1868, reads:

"Although they try to make out there is nothing abominable in it, they are really foxes of the same hole, and it is really more

injurious than the Roman Catholic doctrine. The priests say, 'The Jesus doctrine which I recommend to you does not practise magic; it advocates the observance of the social relations and the five virtues.' But in the matter of abolishing Shinto and Buddhism and of treating prince and father with contempt, it does not differ from the Roman Catholics, for which reason it is very hurtful to the state."[16]

And, finally, Christianity is objected to on the grounds that, as all magico-religious systems, it involves the supernatural.

To show the way many looked at Christianity in Japan from 1873 to 1882, Cary gives the following excerpt from the *Hochi-Shimbun,* of October 19, 1878: "We have no wish to obey it, nor have we any fear of being troubled by it. As we can enjoy sufficient happiness without any religion whatever, the question as to the merits or demerits of the different forms never enters our head. Indeed, we are of those who, not knowing the existence of religions in the universe, are enjoying perfect happiness. We have no intention of either supporting or attacking the Christian religion. In fact, religion is nothing to us."[17]

In 1910 the Report claimed, "Objections are constantly made against the miraculous elements in the life of Christ, and against doctrines which involve the supernatural. Baron Tsuzuki sums up the position in these words: 'That, in spite of the best efforts of missionaries, Christianity does not make a marked progress here is simply due to the fact that the higher and educated classes are not prone and receptive to the miraculous and supernatural. How can it be otherwise when Western missionaries preach us blind acceptance of all the miracles contained therein, while Western teachers and professors teach us the supremacy of reason, the necessity of scrutiny, and disbelief of anything supernatural.'"[18]

Again: "The doctrines of the Deity of Christ, the Virgin Birth, the Resurrection, and others involving the miraculous or supernatural are denied or treated with contempt as mere superstitions."[19]

Specific Mores: MEAT AND DRINK.—Only a slightacquaintance with Christian and non-Christian is necessary to disclose the fact that, aside from these more general and obvious differences, there are concrete divergences which precipitate sharp conflicts. It is commonly remarked that the foreign propagandist mingling with the cannibals of the New Hebrides is

horrified to see them kill and eat human beings. An ordinary, yet hoary, custom of theirs has clashed into contrary and highly emotionalized sentiments of his, evoking horror, disgust, pain. In the very same way, the Hindu mingling with the foreign propagandists who have come to India, becomes horrified to see them kill and eat cows.[20]

> "He [Dayanand Saraswati] consistently sought to recall the Hindus to what he conceived to be the ancient faith, and as consistently stirred them up to vehement opposition to Christianity and Muhammadanism. In the first edition of the *Satyarth Prakash*, published in 1874, he approved of beef-eating under certain conditions, but in the second edition it is condemned. In 1882 he formed the Gaurakshini Sabha, or Cow-protecting Association, and about the same time published his book *Gokarunanidhi*, on the same subject. The purpose was to rouse Hindu feeling against Christians and Muhammadans on account of the killing of cows and oxen, and to present a monster petition to Government, begging that the practice might be prohibited. Dayananda died before the movement had spread very far; but later it attained great proportions. . . ."[21]

> ". . . .It is interesting to note," writes Andrews, "that the parable of the Prodigal Son, even for an educated Hindu, is robbed of half its beauty and effect on account of the mention of the killing of the calf. That one word in Christ's teaching has been the greatest stumbling-block to many, just as the wedding at Cana and the command to drink wine in the Eucharist are a terrible stumbling-block to the Sikh."[22]

> ". . . .The Serampore Missionaries introduced the printing-press into Bengal, their college was a model institution, they translated the Bible into the vernaculars, they spread moral influences around them, but. . . .neither the missionaries nor their converts showed any inclination to protest against the tide of corrupt civilised self-indulgence which upset the character of the rising generation. One of the newspapers of the time characterised Dr. Duff's pupils, as well as other free-and-easy young men of the time as 'cutting their way through ham and beef, and wading their way to liberalism through tumblers of beer.' "[23]

Stated from the standpoint of taboos—i.e., sacred prohibitions —,the foreigner's taboo against eating human flesh and the Hindu's taboo against eating bovine flesh, were each violated—

the violation acting as a stimulus to set off a complex,* as McDougall would say, or, a reaction-system, involving strong and turbulent emotion. Through this mechanism any taboo of one party which is disregarded or violated by the other party, immediately produces feelings which include aversion and sometimes loathing or terror. Here we have most effective sources of a disapproving attitude.

Moslems, in their opposition to Christianity, raise among other issues, the absence of any Christian taboo on alcoholic drinks.

> "When Italy committed a raid on the territory of the Turk in Northern Africa in 1912, one of the pleas advanced to justify this act was that its object was to lay the country open to the beneficial influences of Christian civilization. It is not long since Morocco became a French Protectorate and what irremediable harm the French people have already done to the Muslim population may be seen from the facts disclosed in a speech delivered by The O'Donnel of O'Donnel at a meeting of the Anglo-Ottoman Society held at Caxton Hall, London, on April 2nd, 1914. . . .:
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> ". . . .Morocco is being opened, shamelessly, to the most foul trade in intoxicants which has ever disgraced our nominal civilization.
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> " 'In that country there is a systematic plan for creating colonies of alcohol-dealers who spread themselves over the conquered land . . .in that city of Fez there were in 1912, 400 French citizens resident in the newly protected city. Of these 400 citizens, 300 were sellers of intoxicating drinks! (Shame)'
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> ". . . .And Morocco is not the only part of Africa where the damnable evil of drink has been introduced by nations which call themselves civilized. This scourge has unfortunately followed the Christians wherever they have gone and many a promising people have fallen a prey to this deadly disease. If Jesus had forbidden drink, as the Holy Prophet. . . .His first miracle was the conversion of pure, simple water into wine for the use of a marriage party who were already well 'drunk.' His last supper perpetuated the use of wine among his followers. . . .
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> ". . . .The principal times at which the Arabs were in the habit of drinking were five, but the Holy Prophet, may peace

*A mechanism built up out of the individual's behavior tendencies, youthful tuition, and current attitudes.

and the blessings of God be upon him, made them pray five times a day instead of drinking five times. What a profitable change! O that Jesus had done the same. The Holy Prophet, may peace and the blessings of God be upon him, never tasted wine. O that Jesus had done the same. O people of Europe and America, if you wish to be saved, follow the Holy Prophet for in him you will find a true saviour."[24]

POLYGAMY.—The presence of a taboo upon the Moslem precedent and custom of polygamy is also a clashing point, not to speak of the issue in other groups.*

". . . .the speaker most shamelessly describes the Holy Prophet as a man of evil passions, and objects to his marrying many wives. It is simply astonishing to hear a Christian talking like this. He can not afford to shut his eyes against the fact that almost all, if not all, the true and inspired prophets of yore on whose sole authority he and other of his co-religionists exalt Jesus Christ to the dignity of God-hood were polygamists. . . .to our entire amazement and resistless admiration we find the prophet spending his youthful days in austere piety and God-fearing attitude in all the activities of his life. He passes the whole of his youth with an elderly lady and does not ever think of entering into plural wedlock till towards the evening of his life. A summary look at his life brings home to us the truth that all of his matrimonial relations were based on the soundest of principles and wisest of policies which ultimately resulted in the welding together of many warring tribes and patching up many feuds of very very old standing. Turning to Jesus we meet with a sad contrast. His lifelong celibacy, however good for him, certainly falls short of an object lesson for his followers.

"Polygamy has proved a great blessing to the Muslims. It has proved a potent safeguard against sexual sins which reign supreme in non-Moslem lands."[25]

"Different ideas about polygamy are held in Europe and in America as well. The numerous divorces and scandals there [in America] show that many men are inclined towards polygamy. It is admitted by the Mormon sect. . . .Has not our sublime prophet said: 'Honour the woman who gave you birth,' and Allah has made love and tenderness our duty towards women?

"True the Koran says that woman is subject to the man; but the Bible says the same."[26]

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*The sex question in general is a point of conflict in almost all countries. In the Japanese magazine *Dai Kokumin* for August 1916 there was a very bitter attack upon the anti-prostitution movement which has been promoted by the missionaries and native Christians of Japan.

"In his [Caliph Omar's] time White Slave Traffic would have been an impossibility. If the Christian Governments enforce the Muslim law, the lands that are now a sink of immorality will become morally as pure as Arabia was under Caliph Omar. Who could in his days venture to procure young and attractive girls for the demoralization and detestable pleasure of the soldier?"[27]

". . . .The *Muslim Review* asserts that Islam sets a purer and more divine standard of domestic life than any other [religion]."[28]

PERSONAL RELATIONS IN FAMILY, CLASS, AND NATION.—In the Far East, it is said, aversion is felt toward the missionary's subordination of the so-called five social relationships; and in India, toward Christian hostility to caste. *Ancestor worship* is one of the first issues raised by Christian missionaries in the Far East: they preached against it from the beginning of their work, they refuse to permit it among Christian church members, and this refusal and deprecation of it arouse in turn the disapproval of the Mongolian. This is so well known and will come up so frequently for comment from some special angle that it scarcely calls for illustration here. It should be noted, however, that all of the social virtues regarded as crucially important in the Far East, hang together in the case against Christianity.

In the early part of the nineteenth century, a brochure was compiled in China by way of answer to Christian propaganda. "It was absurd, the writer declared, that persons so miserably deficient themselves should pretend to improve the inhabitants of the Celestial Empire. The foreigner lacked four out of the five cardinal virtues. Etc."[29]

In 1864 the Government of Korea issued a proclamation—evidently with Roman Catholic methods chiefly in mind, to judge from references to celibate priesthood, etc., but applying also to Protestantism—denouncing Christianity on the ground that it required "no proper reverence to prince and father, nor due regard to husband and wife."[30]

A Japanese pamphlet, *A New Essay on the Protection of the Country* widely circulated in 1868, declares:

"It is quite true that one of the Ten Commandments directs that honour be given to parents, but as no care is taken to give

effect to this injuction by teaching it to the people, we do not find that either Abraham, Moses, or Jesus, who are venerated as holy and sage men by the Protestant religion, were celebrated for their filial piety.

". . . .There is not one of these so-called wise and holy men who has acted with loyalty towards his lord and master. . . .

"The Ten Commandments consist of two laws: 'Honour and love the Lord of Heaven,' and 'Love thy neighbor as thyself.' Respect to parents comes under that universal love which is meant by 'Love thy neighbor as thyself.' Therefore, although the expression, 'Honour thy father and thy mother,' exists, it does not urge the practice of filial piety. Jesus said: 'He who loveth father and mother more than me is not worthy of me.' In discussing this question in the 'Dialogue on the Christian Religion,' Jesus is made first and of greater importance, and parents last and of less importance. When the great principles of loyalty and filial piety are thus neglected and the five virtues destroyed, how can one expect perfection in the social relations?. . . . The father of one of Jesus's disciples having died, he asked permission to go home and bury him. Jesus would not permit it. . . ."[31]

In India, again, there is *caste*, with social relationships as fixed and ceremonialized as those of ancestor worship throughout the Far East. It is preferred to our Western class system even by the native Christian, K. T. Paul. Yet the Edinburgh Report, speaking of obstacles to Christianity in India, declares, "The great social hindrance is the existence of caste."[32] This issue seems fundamental and will come up frequently for reference and comment. It would be artificial to draw too sharp a line between the opposition to upsetting caste and that to disturbing status and social relationships of other sorts in the East.

"Caste feeling was perhaps stronger among the middle classes than even among the higher castes, and strong opposition was aroused by the conversion of many who had been their servants and who under the influence of the new religion had thrown off a good deal of restraint."[33]

The Japanese pamphlet, *A new Essay on the Protection of the Country*, widely circulated in 1868, reads:

"All difference between high and low among men is done away with, and this is because the single relation of heaven and man is made to take the place of the five relations. Under these

circumstances, little love and honour are shown towards prince and father, and when they are despised it is impossible that there should be any loyalty or filial piety."[34]

And so the dispute on social relations goes a step further in the problem of *national loyalty.*

In 1897 a new movement, which seems to be in the interests of a revised and modified Shintoism, was inaugurated. Its promoters among whom were numbered professors in the Imperial University and other influential men, issued a challenge to all Japanese Christians asking them to return plain unequivocal answers to certain questions. The first three were: "(1) Can the worship of His Sacred Majesty, the Emperor, which every loyal Japanese performs, be reconciled with the worship of God and Christ by Christians? (2) Can the existence of authorities that are quite independent of the Japanese State, such as that of God, Christ, the Bible, the Pope, the Head of the Greek Church (the Czar), be regarded as harmless? (3) Can the Japanese who is a faithful servant of Christ be regarded at the same time a faithful servant of the Emperor and a true friend of His Majesty's faithful subjects? Or, to put the question in another way, Is our Emperor to follow in the wake of Western emperors and to pray, 'Son of God, have mercy on me?' "[35]

In this connection, we are reminded by a Christian writer that in the Imperial Edict on moral education issued in Japan in 1890 there is most pointed reference to the "Imperial prerogative, which is co-existent with the Heavens and the Earth." This is part of the Japanese school boy's moral diet.[36]

Customs regarding personal relations in Africa and the Near East, as well as those in India and the Far East, are often brought forward as obstacles to Christianity. One of the severest attacks is made by a Muslim on the professions of human brotherhood made by Christians.

"In a mosque, where the Muslims worship their Master, a peasant may stand beside a prince and a beggar may perform his adorations close to a millionaire. But such is not the case with Christian churches."[37]

Class and even *color and race* divide them, he claims, whereas in Islam they do not.

Especially if the culture habits and standards of conduct which are fairly general among any people, fairly central, and highly emotionalized—if these are different or contradictory,

they will likely be raised as issues in the conflict between Christian and non-Christian, raised as professed causes of unfavorable response by those pressed with the propaganda.

At times, such conflicts may be hardly suspected by some of the alien propagandists. The first missionaries never suspected that their eating the flesh of the cow, their tolerating the use of wine, their customs with regard to women, were objectionable to many people. A classic apologist for missions takes severely to task, "the pure-minded" for the oversight of this last consideration.

> "Lord Curzon is admittedly correct when he says: 'The institution of sisterhoods planted alongside of male establishments, the spectacle of unmarried persons of both sexes residing and working together both in public and private, and of girls making long journeys into the interior without responsible escort, are sources of misunderstanding at which the pure-minded may scoff, but which in many cases have more to do with anti-missionary feeling in China than any amount of national hostility or doctrinal antagonism.' Even the Western handshake and the friendly kiss are grounds of suspicion.
>
> "Mr. Julian Ralph demands that on this account all women missionaries should be withdrawn from China."[38]

The same surprise was felt at the Japanese anti-Christian charge circulated in 1868, which Cary quotes:

> "At Urakami, near Nagasaki lately, under the name of conventicles, men and women meet secretly in the depth of the night, which is abominable lechery."[39]

MORE GENERALIZED TRAITS AND IDEALS.—In attitudes and general modes of behavior not crystalized in the code, the divergence is discovered even more slowly. It is none the less important. The boasted *frankness and candor* of certain Occidentals is a case in point.

In an article on the Ceylonese, a missionary reports:

> "Another fundamental characteristic is the desire to avoid the unpleasant at any cost, even that of truth or honour. The worst evil is losing face. No request is ever denied, but the promise is seldom fulfilled. It is not necessarily expected it should be fulfilled. The method of acquiescing will reveal whether the promise is real or not, but neither party will show it.

> Denial is rudeness, for which the Singhalese have absolutely no toleration. It is the prime sin. This is why the parable of the two sons loses its whole force. The one was polite and said 'Yes' and went not. Why should he go? The other's discourtesy no amount of subsequent work could redeem."[40]

Similar traits are found among Chinese, Japanese, and other Orientals, and seem to be in conformity with the teachings of Eastern sages.

A most fruitful but difficult problem is this one of divergence in modes and ideals of behavior in different societies, which may or may not be crystalized in abstract ideas. Candor is a good instance, going to the roots of manners and etiquette and therefore of the basis of social intercourse. *"Honesty" versus social feasibility and propriety, "justice" versus expediency and the claims of relatives and friends,* and *"independence" versus group solidarity,* are fundamental contrasts suggested to us by the criticisms of missionaries upon non-Christians—of course, "moral" generalizations are at times quite recklessly based on mere group norms by both parties. The criticisms are easy to find; yet fruitful comparisons are rare, for they assume an appreciation of different cultures which is not very frequent. Kato is notorious for attempting it in giving his reasons for opposing Christianity:

> ". . . .Dr. Hiroyuki Kato . . .a baron, who is now a member of the House of Peers, and who at one time was the president of the Imperial University in Tokio, ...in a book which he published in 1907,—*Waga Kokutai to Kirisutokyo* ("Our Country and Christianity"), claims, that one of the most poisonous doctrines of Christianity is its idea of a universal brotherhood. It is a cosmopolitan religion that takes no cognizance of any particular state, and places God on a higher throne than the emperor and his ancestors. . . .Christianity is not suited to Japan, because it is too individualistic, while Japan is communistic. It is detrimental to the welfare of the country because it is superstitious, unscientific and really urges treason. . . ."[41]

While Japanese argue against the professed *individualism* of Christianity, Moslems scorn its professed *social idealism*!

> "But Jesus said, 'Resist not evil, but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also.' If the

English had followed this course Admiral Jellico, on receiving the news of one steamer having been torpedoed by a German submarine ought to have ordered a cruiser to be sent to the German submarine to be torpedoed by her. Though such a step would have been in consonance with the teachings of Jesus, it would have been condemned as foolish by the whole world. Thus it is clear that the teachings of Jesus are not only impracticable, but are calculated to upset all order if they are acted upon even for a single day."[42]

"There has been no teacher on earth whose teachings have been so vauntingly admired and at the same time so utterly neglected as those of Jesus. I give below some of his injunctions by way of specimen, and ask how many Christians are carrying them out.

" 'Lay not up for yourselves treasure upon earth.' (Matt. vi, 19.)

" 'A rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven.' (Matt. xix, 23.)

" '. . . .Therefore I say unto you, take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink, nor yet for your body what ye shall put on.' (Matt. vi, 24, 25.)

" '. . . .Resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also.'

" 'And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also.'

" '. . . .Take therefore no thought for the morrow; for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.' (Matt. vi, 34.)

" '. . . .And if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out.' "[43]

"He [Jesus] does not ask us to forgive when forgiveness is likely to mend the offender and to punish when the offender can not be reformed but by punishment. Unlike the Jesus, the Holy Quran bids us both to forgive and to punish according as the occasion demands. Hence the teaching of the Holy Quran is perfect, while that of Jesus is defective and therefore harmful. The teaching of Jesus does not meet all the needs of humanity, and therefore it can make no pretensions to universality. . . ."[44]

CERTAIN CHRISTIAN DOCTRINES.—Doctrinal beliefs function in the same way as specific customs and ideals. Contrary beliefs of an apparently fundamental character are sure to throw the differing beliefs into debate. *Theological doctrines* relating to the

identity and work of Jesus, his birth, death, atonement, and resurrection, are crucial, for if they are accepted Christianity as taught in most missions has a great advantage.

> With reference to the New Testament story of the virgin Mary, Dayanand says: "Such dogmas are believed by those who are mentally blind and financially fat to be caught in the priest's trap. It may be that when Mary was found pregnant, either she or somebody else gave currency to the possibility that her pregnancy was from God."[45]
>
> From a convert from Islam who at first opposed Christianity because it was Western, we have this statement:
>
> ". . . .I consider the almost exclusive preaching of the doctrine of salvation and redemption by Christ's death on the Cross, to be a distinctly Western feature, and altogether unintelligible to the Mohammedan mind without previous preparation. I think there should be far more telling of the story of Christ's life."[46]
>
> Among Ceylonese, "The strong and universal opposition to the idea of Christ having won the salvation of humanity is sufficient evidence that the conception of vicarious suffering, or merit as efficacious in matters fundamental, is not generally held."[47]
>
> Among Animists, "The only Christian doctrine that is mentioned as awakening opposition is that of the resurrection of the body. 'We often get the answer,' says Warneck, "We believe all you say, but not the resurrection of the body." ' "[48]
>
> "A very well educated Japanese gentleman once told me," reports Faust, "that the idea of eternal life, which is so much emphasized by Christianity, was abhorrent to a faithful Buddhist, for, unending, conscious existence would, to his mind, amount to a very hell."[49]

How can an intelligent man concede deity to Jesus when all men are human? is the familiar query of some.

> In a proclamation by the Korean Government mentioned above, one of the counts against Christianity was that it exalted Jesus to the position of a God. The objection to the actual worship of the Christian Lord of Heaven (the translation of the native term for God used by Roman Catholics) and Jesus (referring to Protestant emphasis on Jesus' deity) is frequently found in early statements against Christianity.
>
> A sensitive point in Japan seems to be the criticism of the ruler implied in this exaltation of Jesus:

"Dr. Thompson preached on the sinfulness of all men, 'none righteous, no not one,' before a large Japanese audience, when a 'soshi' sprang to his feet, bawling out: 'What! do you mean to say that our emperor too is a sinner?' "[50]

But the opposition to the theo-philosophical belief in Jesus' deity is also strong.

One of the Chinese writers, C. T. Wang, says: "The thing that has awakened the greatest opposition is the necessity of accepting Christ as divine. I have not met one student who has found, or has attempted to find, a fault in Christianity or in the life of Christ, but it is an every day experience to hear students argue that it is unnecessary to consider Jesus as divine. They are ready to accept Christianity without accepting Christ as possessing supernatural power. Many are hindered by it, but it is a point which we must insist upon, for in rejecting His divinity we reject the foundation of Christianity."[51]

And, how can a believer in scores of gods accept a doctrine which denies that there are any beside one God? others exclaim.

Again, *ecclesiastical doctrines* are attacked: why does one have to join a church to become a Christian?

Typical of a considerable number of men in the East is the position of Uchimura, Tominaga, and others of Japan who hold that joining the foreign established churches, or any church organization, is not necessary to being a Christian. While contending openly and vigorously for this claim, and asserting that there are a great many unchurched Christians in Japan, it is significant that Uchimura goes so far in his enthusiasm as to predict that Japan will be the foremost Christian nation of the world.[52]

Or, the integrity of *Biblical authority* or of the missionary interpretation of Christianity is held up to scorn by charges that the Christian position is inconsistent.

"Inconsistence of Justice and Forgiveness.

". . . .'And then he shall reward every man according to his work.'—Matt. xvi. 27.

". . .If the people are to be judged according to their works, it is absurd for the Christians to preach forgiveness of sins. If the one is true, the other will be false."[53]

". . .'And Jesus went about all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and heal-

ing all manner of sickness and all manner of disease among the people.' . . .

". . . .If the pious frauds of charms, incantation, benediction, paraclete, exorcising devils and driving diseases, of the present time by administering a pinch of sacrificial ashes, be true; the above account of the gospel will be true also. Therefore these things are to catch simple folks in their snare. If the Christians believe these things of Christ, why do they not believe similar things of the priests of the Gods and Goddesses of India; for, they are all alike?"[54]

Of late the historical derivation of the Bible, and the results of higher and textual criticism have been employed to weaken Christian influence.

". . . .The periodicals of the non-Christian religions are active and agressive in publishing papers showing supposed mistakes in the Bible and the conclusions of destructive criticism."[55]

ABANDONING SPECIFIC MORES THAT CAUSE NON-APPROVAL.—Concessions are made on both sides: certain customs and beliefs are lopped off as at the same time non-essential and provocative. At times Christian missionaries have abandoned meat-eating when working among strict Buddhists who taboo it—some missionary leaders urge this.[56] Many doctrines of Christian sects are waived and ceremonies modified, as will appear further on in our studies. The same shearing down is sometimes done by non-Christians interested in Christianity.

But the irreducibles, the best fortified habits and beliefs, remain. These come to the front in missionary preaching and teaching, and in the more universal membership requirements and causes for discipline maintained by the innovating institution.

"When I was preaching the gospel among the people of Samosir, then entirely heathen, a thoughtful man who regularly attended our service came to me one day and said, 'I would like very much to become a Christian, for I see that the new way is good, but I am not and never will be able to do so.' 'Why not,' I said, 'if you see that the Christian religion is good.' He answered, 'You have often told us that we must forgive our enemies;

> that God will not forgive our faults if we do not forgive our debtors. Now, I have an enemy who formerly killed my son, and I cannot forgive him; so I can never be a Christian."[57]

They come to the fore in open discussion, agitation, and criticism of the innovators, by those opponents who fear lest their own institutions be threatened. Custom, rite, or belief—anything outstanding or emotionalized in the Christian mores—is brought forward as a professed cause of disapproval, if it conflicts or fails to coincide with customs, ceremonials, or beliefs of the other group.

ASSUMPTION OF AUTHORITY: Single traits and "systems" of traits.—An individual belief or custom that refuses to be sidetracked, even though it conflict radically with certain specific attitudes of the opposite group, is to that extent asserting dominance. As such it is liable to disfavor. The same is true of a related system of beliefs or customs (a "culture trait complex"). We have noted that the system of ancestor worship in the Far East, of caste in India, and of Emperor worship in Japan, with their assertion of authority and control over many social attitudes and practices conflicting with professedly Christian behavior, are the more liable to disfavor with Christianity. Even more comprehensive cases of such exclusive inclusiveness are Islam, Hinduism, and Christianity as groupings of mores. Each seems to assume absolute authority over most if not the whole of one's life. (It would be entirely aside from the point here to discuss such different modes of enforcing this authority as the legal, the persuasive, etc.) And so far as that is true in practice, we find that each is liable to arouse a correspondingly extensive variety of conflicting issues and attitudes in its clash with contrary mores.

CHRISTIANITY PER SE AS AN EXCLUSIVE SYSTEM.—In a compilation of the causes of opposition to Christianity noted bymissionaries in China, the Edinburgh Report says:

> ". . . .Christianity is exclusive. It forbids the worship of the gods, the worship of ancestors, and the worship of the sages. It changes the marriage and burial usages, and upsets many

time-honoured customs. It separates Christians on many points from their fellows, and demands many personal and social reforms. In particular, the opposition of Christianity to ancestor worship is resented. That worship is so prominent in the Confucian system and has become so blended with family and clan life that its neglect by Christianity comes as a shock to the Confucianist. A Chinese pastor writes: 'That which awakens the greatest opposition is the refusal of Christians to follow the social customs and traditions prevalent around them.'

"One writer says, 'The "intolerance" of the demands of Christ forms another barrier. There is nothing comparable in other Chinese religions. Why should Christianity make exclusive demands, they say.'"[58]

Fifty years ago, the certainty that sweeping changes would occur upon Christianity's entrance, was put forward in more drastic statements.

To quote a mild charge, the Japanese pamphlet entitled *A New Essay on the Protection of the Country*, asserted:

". . . .Should the Protestant religion spread in Japan, I fear the consequences will be the complete destruction of the shrines of Ise and Hachiman, [of places] where the bodies of the Emperor's ancestors repose, of all the sacred images of the gods, and of the tablets of our forefathers. Protestant churches will be built, and only the Lord of Heaven and Jesus will be worshipped. Laws which have remained in force from the earliest ages will be abolished, and the Imperial line, which has lasted for the last ten thousand generations will be polluted. . . ."[59]

That the Christian group claims, in the name of Christianity, absolute control over life and conduct, exclusive authority in creed, and supremacy over every conflicting sect, social group, or scheme of life and belief—this is claimed to be a persistent source of non-approving behavior. Whether or not the Christian system of mores with their implications logically require what is attributed to the propagandists' aims, and why such aims are credited to the Christian promoters, are not now our concern: the point is that both the actual and the verbal demands arouse opposition by this fundamental characteristic.

". . . .It may be said that until recently the great middle classes had been almost untouched by Christian influences. They were moreover very hostile to all Christian teaching, partly

because of their strong conservatism and the consolation they got from old customs, and partly because of the crude way in which so often Christianity was presented to them. As one of them said, 'Christians preached as if they alone possessed tickets to heaven and all others must bow down to them before they could obtain deliverance.' "[60]

In Japan, "The 'bigotry' of Christianity, as it is often termed, that is, its exclusive claim to human allegiance, is, by a general consent of all the authorities, the objection that is most frequently urged against it."[61]

JESUS.—One very definite and specific factor in the Christian mores does, in and of itself, assert a wide range of authority. It therefore conflicts with a wide range of contradictory behavior. That factor is the Biblical, or a theologically idealized, portrayal of the Founder of Christianity, who, it is asserted, requires conformity to specific ideas, practices, and attitudes affecting one's entire life. His own beliefs, conduct, and attitudes are professed to be central in the Christian mores as the absolute norm, usually as seen through the eyes of "early Christian" *belief and doctrine.* This assumes Jesus' priority and supremacy over other sages and Gods.

"The divinity of Christ is not readily accepted by those who have withheld that attribute from Confucius, and which, if admitted, would place Christ above all the sages."[62]

". . . .The Hindu greatly resents our insistence on the exclusive and catholic claim of Jesus Christ as the Saviour, and only Saviour, of the world. 'You may preach for a week,' said a Brahman to me, 'on the excellence of Christ and Christianity, and we will hear you gladly, but when you say that Christ is the only Saviour, and that Christianity is superior to Hinduism, then we will not listen to you.' (J. A. Sharrock)."[63]

The opposition here is not merely theological. It is an opposition due to the realization that the claims for Jesus imply the abrogation of non-Christian religions and their authority. The claim that Jesus' life and teachings constitute the chief *standard of conduct* also arouses conflicting attitudes over a wide range. We have noted them thus far in the case of Jesus' sanction of eating beef, drinking wine, etc. Other instances will come

up in this volume and in a later one where we examine modifications in the behavior of converts. The presence in the Christian mores of this exclusive-inclusive authority is declared to be an outstanding cause for failure to procure a favorable attitude toward Christianity.

THE BIBLE.—The Bible, Christians often claim, is the tangible embodiment of this absolute authority. In actual conflicts induced by Christian propaganda, we have found considerable antipathy directed against it as a book claiming authority. The reason there is not more opposition is doubtless the fact that many find the Bible liable to such diverse interpretations that its "authoritativeness" has no meaning for them. The *Satyarth Prakash* of Dayanand Saraswati, founder of the Arya Somaj, from which we have quoted several charges of Biblical inconsistency and unreliability, is a fruitful type of source book for direct attacks upon the Bible. Magazines published to controvert Christianity and promote non-Christian sects also contain an abundance of the criticism of the Bible (and of missionary work in general), from which we have given samples. To quote further from both:

> The *Satyarth Prakash* states:
>
> In the summer of 1878 Swami Dayanand Saraswati went to Allahabad "to expose the crude idea of God among the Christians before the Hindu Mahrattas. . . .he hinted to the Biblical story of the Tower of Babel, by which some western race of ancients attempted to scale the heavens in the Christian mythology. . . .This shows that the Christians believe that God is not omnipresent; but on the contrary, he is confined to a certain locality, the whereabouts of which they cannot exactly tell us."[64]
>
> As a further indication of the way anti-Christian magazines treat Biblical authority, take the following criticism of the "Penalty of Death in the Bible":
>
> "If Christendom follow the Bible, it must prescribe the capital punishment for the following offences:—
>
> " (1) For working on Sunday:—
>
> " 'Whosoever doeth any work in the Sabbath day, he shall surely be put to death.' (Ex. xxxi, 15.)
>
> " (2) For changing one's religion and trying to make proselytes:—

" 'If thy brother, the son of thy mother, or thy son, or thy daughter, or the wife of thy bosom, or thy friend which is as thine own soul, entice thee secretly saying, "Let us go and serve other gods," . . .thou shalt surely kill him.' (Deut. xiii, 6-9.)

" (3) For irreverence:—

" 'He that blasphemeth the name of the Lord, he shall surely be put to death.' (Lev. xxiv, 16.)

"(4) For disobedience to parents:—

" 'If a man have . . .a son, which will not obey the voice of his father or the voice of his mother, . . .the men of his city shall stone him with stones that he die.' (Deut. xxi, 18-21.)

"(5) For practising the gift of a spirit medium:—

" 'There shall not be found among you . . .a consulter with familiar spirits.' (Deut. xviii, 10-11.)

" 'A man also a woman that hath a familiar spirit . . .shall surely be put to death.' (xx, 27.)

" 'Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live.' (Ex. xx, 18.)

"The atrocities perpetrated by Christians on innocent men, women and children in Persia, Tripoli and the Balkans, though horrible beyond words, ill appear as a mild treatment when compared with what the Bible requires its followers to do. Here are some of its directions:—

'Ye shall drive out all the inhabitants of the land before you, . . .and ye shall dispossess the inhabitants of the land, and dwell therein.' (Num. xxxiii, 52-53.)

" 'And thou shalt consume all the people which the Lord thy God shall deliver to thee; thine eye shall have no pity upon them.' (Deut. vii, 16.)

" 'Kill every male among the little ones, and kill every woman that hath known him.' (Num. xxxi, 17.)"[65]

In other words, they duplicate Christian polemic against non-Christian religions not only in attacking the historical basis of the sacred book in question but in holding up to disapprobation and scorn the contents of the exclusively authoritative book itself.

"Form" of the Mores.—The form, using the concept from the realm of logic, in which the mores are couched—their structure, so to speak—is alleged to be a hindrance among some people. As one missionary puts it:

". . . .What we regard as an excellence of Christianity, that it is a religion, not of the letter that killeth, but of the Spirit that giveth life, is to the Moslem a defect 'Christianity

> is alleged to be very deficient and imperfect as compared with Islam,' because 'the Gospel contains no code of law, civil and criminal; it contains very few definite precepts; it has no ceremonial ordinances and observances; it has no set prayers' (the Rev. W. A. Rice)."[66]

The validity of this criticism is not up for discussion now. Neither is it pertinent to discuss the ways in which the official ecclesiastical guardians and propagandists of Christianity have emphasized "Old Testament legalism" and prepared formal precepts and prayers for certain non-Christian communities;* nor, why these are not regarded as sufficient by critics. For the time being it is enough to note that such objections to Christianity are made, and are made as reasons for regarding it as undesirable. The omission in the traditional Christian mores of specific rules against drinking liquor, suicide, or certain other practices, affords a good opportunity for a Moslem to discredit Christianity among his own people.

> "One of the distinctive marks of Christian civilization is the frequent occurrence of the cases of suicide. The frequency with which such cases occur among the civilized Christians is simply amazing.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> ". . . . The prevalence of this evil practice among the Christians is a clear indication of the fact that they have no faith in the life to come. . . .Another cause. . . .is their want of faith in the power of God to extricate them from their difficulties and in the efficacy of prayer.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "The Holy Prophet (may peace and the blessings of God be upon him) not only breathed into his people a strong faith in the Mercy of God which prevents them from resorting to self-destruction, but unlike Jesus, he expressly prohibited his followers from taking recourse to this horrible practice. He said:—
>
> " 'Whoever kills himself by any means in this world will be punished by the same means in the next world.' "[67]

*The psychological problem beneath such opportunistic, or, "operative," modification of Christianity's form, is: whether or not ecclesiastical Christianity can appear as anything but legalistic to an outsider unfamiliar with its principles and precepts, and whether or not any novel institution can appear anything but legalistic in making its first specific requirements. In other words, can abstract principles for which an institution may claim to stand, be realized except through concrete demands and demonstrations that appear as legalistic rules to the novice?

In gathering further data on this topic, it should be carefully observed just what verbal habits and verbal prepossessions characterize the original recorders of this obstacle to Christianity. Westerners in whose culture abstract principles are esteemed, are of course liable to overlook the specific steps by which their own habits were originally formed, and at least to exaggerate the extent to which they base their action on reasoning and principles rather than on detailed and specific custom; and this tendency may play into the hands of the non-Christian critic.*

Antithetical to the Mohammedan's professed desire for concrete injunctions, regulations, or legislation against drink, suicide, etc., wanting in Christianity, is an aversion for certain phases of the concrete, frequently found among the more intellectual of the Indians. To them the envisaging of "the central fact" of Christianity or of any religion, in a historical event, is a futile assertion of the impossible: "fact" is a peculiar western concept not applicable, they claim, to religion.

> "History is to them phenomenal limitation; to seek the foundation of the whole world's salvation in a particular fact nineteen hundred years ago, is an absurdity and arrogance against the religious life of the rest of the world, and is looked upon as an expression of the gross and unspiritual way in which the materialistic West deals with spiritual matters."[68]

> ". . . .Another writes: 'Intellectually the greatest hindrance is undoubtedly the lack of historical sense and of sense of reality. The only reality to the Indian mind is spiritual life; facts are but casual phenomena. . . . 'Is it possible,' they ask, 'that our faith in God should be made to depend upon the veracity of an historical fact occurring many centuries ago; and that our salvation should be staked upon it?' "[69]

The same scepticism is apparently felt toward doctrinal statements.

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*Those familiar with the history of European philosophy and of Christian theology, will understand what a predilection the ecclesiastical guardians of Christianity are likely to have for historical and doctrinaire statements of "the truth" of religion, regardless of their sect. An acquaintance with the teachings of theological training schools in Occidental or even in mission lands, shows this. On the other hand, supplementary to this among the more liberal theologians and missionaries, there is a professed emphasis on fact and sequence, due to the general scientific and historical studies of the last century.

> "For the Hindu religious formulas are not absolute truth, but truth in a mythical and allegorical form; how should that which is infinite be compressed into the tiny vessel of a single dogma?"[70]

Consequently of what use are appeals to historical incident and to logical and doctrinaire formulations of religious faith? For an Aryan Hindu with this point of view to acknowledge Jesus' life and death as central in a religion, and a doctrine about him as binding, when both, to his mind, are symbolical and allegorical, is unthinkable.*

The man who looks at history and doctrine in this way, has no difficulty in confessing "faith" in almost contradictory beliefs.

> "A Hindoo will state with perfect honesty that Christianity is true, that Mohammadenism is true, and that his own special variety of Brahminism is true, and that he believes all three implicitly. The relation between what Dr. Newman calls 'assent' and what we call 'faith' is imperfect with the Hindoos, and conversion may be intellectually complete, yet be for all purposes of action valueless. Missionaries are constantly ridiculed in India for saying that they have hearers who are converts but not Christians, the idea being that they are either deluding themselves or dishonestly yielding to the English passion for tangible results. They are in reality stating a simple truth, which embarrasses and checks and, sooth to say, sometimes irritates them beyond all measure. . . ."[71]

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*The following diagnosis of Hindu predilection for the sovereignly legislative, is the disconcerting sort of testimony that calls for careful examination in the light of its apparent denial of other testimony discovered. (However, the statement that the "form" of Christian mores influences the response to missions, is substantiated by either diagnosis.) The observation is:

". . . . The character of Christ is not, I am convinced, as acceptable to Indians as it is to the Northern races. It is not so completely their ideal because it is not so visibly supernatural, so completely beyond any point they can, unassisted by Divine grace, hope to attain. The qualities which seemed to Clovis so magnificently Divine, the self-sacrifice, the self-denial, the resignation, the sweet humility, are precisely the qualities the germs of which exist in the Hindoo. He seeks, like every other man, the compliment of himself, and not himself again, and stands before Christ at first comparatively unattracted . . . . I never talked with a Hindoo in whom I did not detect this feeling to be one inner cause of his rejection of Christianity. He did not want that particular sublimity of character, but another, something more of the sovereign and legislative. . . . This is . . . the master difficulty of Christianity in India, and the one which will delay conversion on a large scale. . . ." Townsend, 69-70.

". . . .Of specific intellectual difficulties, etc., the Bishop of Lahore writes: 'One cause which operates strongly is the mental habit of occupying at the same time two separate and incompatible hemispheres of belief. This is illustrated by the remark of an intelligent student who said, "I am a believer in western science in college while at home I hold my traditional beliefs." This habit makes it easy for a Hindu to embrace so much of Christian truth while holding to his ancestral form of belief, and to see no contradiction or incompatibility in so doing.' "[72]

The non-Christian, of course, retorts that the defect is in the Occidental formulations and use of logic.

It is a Moslem editor that writes:

"The correspondent of the *Moslem World* also complains of the inaptitude and imbecility of the Oriental mind. Weak and faulty reasoning and untrustworthiness in general are incident to the Orientals. Superficial and sophistical ideas they take as sound reasons and arguments. We sympathise with the correspondent, for this shortcoming in the Orientals has done an incalculable harm to the Christians, for the Lord Jesus and his disciples were all Orientals and as such subject to the same adverse conditions as are ascribed to every Oriental by the reverend gentleman. This is the reason why the modern Christian superstructure was raised on the original simple creed when the pagan Romans began to enter the folds of this new religion and the Occidental philosophers who were fond of cause and reason, amalgamated the old heathen principles and puerile myths and legends with the new creed under new names and in new guises. O what a fall was it my Christian friend! Should I call it a high flight? The Oriental mind is indeed quite incapable of it. How could it produce such highly reasonable and authenticated rites as the Yule Feast, the Mother's Night, Mithra's Birthday, Sacred Mistletoe, Trinity in Unity and vice versa, Atonement, accursedness of law and so on."[73]

True, the average man anywhere holds inconsistent beliefs, keeping them, in popular parlance, in separate mental compartments. But the Christian missionary does not see how he can permit this "in such extreme" and conscious form in his imported church group when it vitiates the Western mores which have grown up around his sacred book: he sees it only as a defect which must be overcome as a prerequisite to joining his group.

The general dialectic and form of the propagandic mores, the presence in them of an uncompromising authority over conduct, outstanding specific mores, the religious aspect of the mores, and the general foreign-ness of the mores, all clash with local

non-Christian attitudes to such an extent that they are regarded as causes of unfavorable response to Christian propaganda.

2. GROUP ATTITUDES

Special Group Attitudes: Traditional Disapproval of Other Religions.—As distinctive as the general and particular aspects of the alien mores we have noted, are specific crystalized attitudes which directly obstruct the influences of propaganda, according to available testimony. They may be a part of the mores themselves, traditionalized and passed on from generation to generation. On the other hand, they may seem to be too recent, temporary, and artificially fomented to be called such; and yet, as we shall see under the next heading, at the same time, they may be implicit components in a civil-group organization, naturally arising from it under certain provocative conditions and requiring it as a foundation. They may be an undeveloped aspect of the self-prestige in any highly organized civil-religious group or an implicit result of it.

For centuries, Mohammedan and Christian mores have contained specific disapproving attitudes toward other religions in general and toward each other in particular. Christian missionaries claim, as we quoted earlier, that as a chronic condition Mohammedans are fanatically intolerant toward Christianity. Moslem apologists reply, in the first place, that Islam at its core is inherently tolerant and respectful of other religions, though of course mindful of its superiority to them.

> In answer to the accusation that Islam sanctions the slaying of non-believers, a Moslem editor replies, in a comment on "Four Verses from the Bible and Four from the Quran":
>
> "*The Bible*
>
> "(1) 'Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, Put every man his sword by his side, and go in and out from gate to gate throughout the camp, and slay every man his brother, and every man his companion, and every man his neighbour.' (Ex. xxxii, 27.)
>
> "(2) 'Spare them not but slay both man and woman, infant and suckling.' (I Sam. xv, 3.)
>
> "(3) 'Slay utterly old and young, both maids and little children.' (Ezek. ix, 6.)
>
> "(4) 'Cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood.' (Jer. xlviii, 10.)
>
> "*The Quran*
>
> "(1) 'There is no compulsion in religion; for the right way hath been made distinct from the wrong.' (ii, 257.)
>
> "(2) 'Fight in God's way with those who fight with you, but trangress not; verily God loveth not those who transgress.'

"(3) 'Whoso kills a soul, unless it be for another soul or for violence in the land; it is as though he had killed men altogether, but whoso saves one, it is as though he saved men altogether.' (v. 35.)

"(4) 'And the servants of the Merciful are those who walk on earth with meekness, and when the ignorant address them, they say "Peace." '"[74]

In the second place, Moslems in turn accuse Christianity of fanaticism toward Islam, and, in fact, all differing religionists. As this is less familiar we quote at some length:

". . . .The Students of history are fully aware of how Europe was converted to Christianity at the point of the sword and with what unparalleled brutality one Christian sect waged war against another offshoot of Christianity with a view to bring about an utter annihilation of it. Exactly the same thing is now being done in South-eastern Europe. Not only the Muslim population of that part of Europe is being exterminated by wholesale massacres, forceful conversions, and by reducing whole villages to ashes by means of fire, but even the conquered Christians are being forced to adopt that particular form of Christianity which is professed by their Christian conquerors." "Military Missionaries," *R. of Rel.*, XII (1913) 168.[75]*

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*The following accounts are offered as evidence:—

"No serious attempt has been made to deny the general accusation against the conquering Christians of terrible cruelty committed upon the Moslem 'bottom dogs' in Thrace and Macedonia. These accusations have found terrible expression in a Munich paper, *Mars*, in an article written by the well-known and can be reduced respected Dr. Hands Barth.

. . . . . .

" 'In all their lives, Caesar Borgia, Torquemada, and Tilly did not carry on so many ravages as the Balkan clergy, the true instigators of these horrors, have committed during these few months. Even the most furious Spanish fanatic must sink into insignificance when compared with these priests who cut Turkish throats in the name of Christ!' " "Cross and Crescent in the Balkans," *R. of Rel.*, XII (1913), 295.

". . . . Pierre Loti, whose mouth is not to be gagged, nor his pen silenced. His article on 'The Savageries of War,' in *Contre la Guerre* (March 15,) . . declares that 'the Bulgarians, in absolute tranquility, under the closed eyes of their accomplice, Europe, are proceeding with the systematic extermination of the Moslems in the invaded provinces.' In proof of this terrifying allegation, he claims that 'there are legions of unimpeachable witnesses, Austrian and German, functionaries, doctors, pastors and officers.' He mentions as his witnesses Doctor Ernst Jaeckh, General Baumann, Colonel Veit, Captain Rein, and Professor Dühring, whose well documented reports supported by hideous photographs, speak of pillagings, incendiarism, violations amidst aggravating circumstances of Sadism, and mutilations of indescribable horror; the massacre of non-combatants; old women locked in barns which are set fire to; Mussulmans drenched with petroleum before being piled up in mosques and therein burnt alive. . . .! Then come these accusing words:—

" 'Over all this savagery there brooded a base and bestial fanaticism. The funeral *stela*, having Koranic inscriptions, were broken and the tombs profaned. The name of Christ was mingled with these assassinations, and sometimes the murderers baptised by force before they began the massacre. . . .' And all this vileness wrought in the sweet name of Jesus!" *Ibid.*, 299.

"King Ferdinand of Bulgaria, in his appeal in proclamation to the nation and army, stated in so many words that the war on which the Allies were embarking was in reality a war for the emancipation of their Christian brethren from the oppression of the Turk. . . .

. . . . . .

". . . .Every appeal to Europe from the Allied States, for funds for the fatherless, for Red Cross and relieving of misery was an appeal in the same terms, they were always Christians fighting the Mussulmans.

". . . .With the exception of a few outspoken papers, such as the *Nation*, *Outlook*, and the *Manchester Guardian*, the British Press ignored the exposures of Italian methods and what is more to the point not a single Christian Missionary or Cleric, not a single recognised organ of official Christianity raised its voice in a protest against the horrors. That was indeed the degradation of ethics, the lowest rung of the ladder of morals. Silence! Silence! when women and children and helpless, old men were being butchered in cold blood, when maidens were being tortured and ravished. Silence! Not a voice raised to bid the murderers stay their hands, not in protest against the deeds. Only the predominant thought that Tripoli will now be open to the despoiler, the capitalist, the financier and the Missionary; and like Egypt and Tunis and Algeria to the gin shop and the brothel.

" . . . .Why the action as performed by a Muslim should be condemned and as performed by a Christian lauded, is one of mysteries of Christian ethics and a parallel of morals of the Middle Ages and the period of the Reformation when the Church as a whole judged men according to their opinions, not according to their acts. . . .

. . . . . .

"Now to a rarer tit-bit.

> "All of us expected great things after the day of prayer for the Muslim world, but who could have anticipated such vast changes immediately subsequent to our day of intercession? . . . .Shall we not pray God to open hearts as He has opened land?' (Zwemer, in the *Moslem World*, Volume III, p. 115.)

"This is a claim and a terrible accusation in one, which takes in not only individuals of frail humanity, but includes the Creator of the universe in its all embracing generalization. In answer to the prayer of Zwemer and the other piousites of Christendom, God brought about the war in Tripoli and in the Balkans. . . .

It is an accusation which throws on God the responsibility for the hellish work accomplished by the Brutal soldiery of the Allies on the banks of the Morava, the Vardar and the Strumn. By the Bulgarians at Dedeagach, Malkochlar, Stroumnitza and the villages of Thrace. By the Greeks at Salonica and all over Epirus. By the Servians in Albania, around Prishtina, Prizend, Serres, and Uskub. Men, women and children delivered up to slaughter and fire until even Christians, consuls and pressmen, feel ashamed of being Europeans and Nazarenes. Has a single missionary of the type of the above writer raised his voice against the massacres. No. In their opinion God is the guiding hand and they fasten the responsibility on him. 'Said I not unto thee, that if thou believest, thou shouldst see the Glory of God,' (*Ibid.*, p. 116) is their cry."[76]

And the reply of Christian apologists again is that Christianity at its core is inherently tolerant and respectful of other religions. As a matter of fact the rank and file of the Christian groups in their homeland, especially propagandic forces, are so confined to their own partisan literature that they seem almost unaware of this sort of criticism—as are the rank and life of most groups.

Defenders of each religion would say that it was a debased and adulterated form of their own religion which was responsible for the vicious behavior which alone is stressed by their opponents.

Says the Christian leader, in a summary statement:

". . . .Their ideal is Mohammed as he is represented in Moslem tradition—rather than in the Koran—and their idea of Christianity is based upon what they know of the Oriental Churches, the religion of conquered races whom they look upon as idolaters and inferior in every way to themselves. For many centuries they have been accustomed to speak of them as infidels, dogs, or pigs. Of Christ, as the true and only Christian ideal, they know nothing."[77]

Says the Moslem, in a particular instance:

"Among the many proofs which Mr. Cawston's contribution to the *East African Standard* furnishes of his utter ignorance of the Holy Quran or of his wilful attempt to impose upon the credulous masses, one is to be found in the statement that among the injunctions of the Holy Quran 'we find no enforcement of the duty of active proselytising: it is rather taught that unbelievers must be destroyed or enslaved.' [The writer of the article goes on to refute the statement.]"[78]

Again, under the caption "Islam Versus Christianity" a review of Herrick's *Christian and Muhammadan* is being given:

"*The New Testament*	"*The Quran*
(1) Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you even so do ye also unto them. (Matt. vii. 12.)	(1) Whosoever trangresseth against you, do ye transgress against him in like manner as he hath transgressed against you. (Sura II.)

"By giving in paralled columns the respective teachings of the Gospels and the Holy Quran the Christian critic means to bring out the inferiority of Islam as a moral force. As to how far he succeeds in so doing I must tell him at the very outset that what he has quoted from his Gospels as the high water mark of morality is the lowest line of conduct with the Muslims. In the Holy Quran we read: . . . .

" 'God commands you to do good for good (justice). to do good without having received any benefit, and to bestow gifts with the natural kindness of kindred.'

"In this line the Holy Book of Islam has prescribed the various stages through which a Muslim has to pass in order to acquire the desirable degree of moral excellence. Justice is the very first rung in the moral ladder. Doing good without having received any benefit is the second stage in the moral development of man. Behaving towards others as towards one's own kith and kin like a mother to her son as if it had become a part and parcel of the nature itself is the third stage in the moral advancement of a Muslim. What our critic has quoted as the sole and exclusive monopoly of the Christian faith and what again he has boastfully set forth as the highest point of moral ascendancy is really the ground floor in the moral edifice of a Muslim. His quotation is at best an injunction for just action, but the Quranic message far transcends this. [Here the author quotes from the Quran.] . . .

"Having disposed of the quotation of my friend I wish to point out that in quoting the corresponding verse of the Holy Quran he stands guilty of intentional calumny. The verse quoted by him refers to the commandments of the Holy Quran for the war which our Blessed Prophet was compelled to undertake to defend and preserve the infant movement against the malicious attempts of the unbelievers at wholesale extirpation. Taken singly the verse can bear no significance consistent with the general tenor of the Holy Quran. Read along with a few foregoing verses, it will be found to embody a moral lesson of highly virtuous import."[79]

Accusations in a more moderate tone libel each other as being intolerant and bent upon destroying all contradictory or different religious values. At best missionaries of both religions are blatant in their assertion both of the superiority of their own religion and of their intention to allow permissable elements of other religions to persist only as incorporated within their own and as contributing to its form and spirit. *Integrated with both Islam and Christianity, then, is a superior attitude toward each other (and all religions), which seems to be vividly sensed reciprocally and which thus becomes an occasion or professed cause of a specific counter-attitude of disfavor, to say the least.* Of other religions, the same holds true, in varying degrees, but we have selected Islam and Christianity, because they present such a clear-cut case.* The Moslem and Christian attitudes might be studied in comparison with the present antipathy and hatred between Catholics and Protestants in certain communities or between Jews and Christians in certain pogrom regions of Europe.

Inclusive Group Loyalties: Nationalistic, Etc.—The well crystalized attitudes of antipathy to Christian missions are by no means confined to those which are long traditionalized in literature and embodied in custom and code. The reason may be that the rest of the Orient did not have sufficient contact with the West in earlier centuries, to provide opportunity for such an antagonism to develop. For the fact is that relations between the West and East since the sixteenth century A.D., have given rise to *antagonism toward missions as a part of nationalistic and racial resentment.* This is the situation before us in this section.

In Chapter II opposition to missions by complex-culture groups (particularly those of Islam, Hinduism, Lamaism, and Judaism, but also Japan and China) was ascribed to a high degree of "group organization" in which *self-prestige* was a prominent factor. Self-prestige has also been markedly present, though we did not call special attention to it, in opposition to missions by castes, parties, sects, and other subgroups which are organized about some particular set of traits (or "interests") in the indige-

*"Comparative religion" from partisan viewpoints, and partisan studies of one another's lives and society, afford abundant data of a less spectacular kind.

nous culture. The manifestations of the opposition itself, on the part of both these complex-culture groups and the highly organized "interest groups," have been observed in Chapters I, III and IV. The "Orientation with Regard to the More Permanent Non-approving Behavior" [subtitle] in Chapter IV showed how, even in the absence of aggressive counter-attack and competition, intra-group devices might be employed for strengthening group "organization" as well as for warding off the "destructive" influences of missions. And, finally, in the present chapter we have seen self-prestige and opposition to missions again linked together in certain groups—e.g., the kin group, the caste, the emperor group, Islam—as they accepted Christianity's challenge to their exclusive systems of authoritative mores.

In view of these reactions, it would seem inevitable, theoretically, that Christianity's clash with a wide range of indigenous mores would suggest to the local groups affected, that they had a common cause against missions—an inter-group feeling of resentment and opposition, national in its scope if not continental and racial. Theoretically, too, the same fact would cause the rise of opposition in the national group per se, either before or along with the inter-group feeling. Moreover, such a national sentiment or passion would retroactively aggravate the opposition of each of the intra-national (or intra-continental or racial) groups. To what extent these theoretical plausibilities have been substantiated by the testimony examined, is our problem.

THE RISE OF NATIONALISM IN THE NON-CHRISTIAN WORLD.—The questions whether or not whole peoples have developed antagonism to missions and whether the different sub-groups of any of them have come to realize that as members of a national or larger group they had a common grievance against Christianity, are bound up with the question of the existence or rise of nationalism itself. And that takes us down to the actual history of the relations between these different countries and the West, where such a feeling would emerge if present. It takes us to the appearance of the English trader and missionary in the Pacific, of the Dutch, Portuguese, and Spanish in the Far East, of the East India Company in India.

Now there are two facts we must bear in mind here. The first is that, as the accounts of Chino-Western relations have indicated, white interlopers insisted on relationships with the Orient on their own terms. Chinese and Japanese regarded themselves as superior to the Whites (as the Whites regarded themselves superior to the Mongolians) from the very first; the conditions they imposed upon the interlopers were repugnant to the latter; nevertheless, the Occidentals kept coming; and therefore war, military defeat, impositions upon the defeated, and consequent resentment of Asiatic toward the Westerner, were inevitable. The second fact to be borne in mind is that hostility and ruthless murder figured in early relations between the Occident and the rest of the world, arousing the intense passions of anger, rage, and hate; and that this, by bringing on domination of the more powerfully equipped people, meant the continuance of heightened nationalistic feeling.* Political

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*Speaking of Australasia and Oceania, the Report asserts that "the main obstacle has always been the initial difficulty of access. From the side of religion there has been little opposition. . . .But before the days of missions and settled governments, practically the whole of Oceania was divided among innumerable small tribes, hostile to one another, and keeping absolutely apart. The law of revenge, tribal rather than individual, reigned supreme. Many of the earlier attacks upon missionaries are to be traced purely to this spirit of exacting from the first white man who visited the islands a reparation for some injury inflicted by a trader or other voyager." *W. M. C.*, I, 130-131.

About 1517 "Fernao Peres De Andrade. . . . asked for the privilege of opening commercial intercourse. He was favorably received by the Chinese officials, and allowed to proceed to Peking and to reside at the Court . . .a short time afterwards a second Portuguese fleet under the command of De Andrade's brother appeared in Chinese waters and committed such acts of outrage and piracy along the coast from Ningpo to Foochow that the goodwill of the Chinese was turned into the most bitter hatred. De Andrade was seized in the Capital, and, after being confined for some time in prison, was beheaded. This act of reprisal is hardly to be wondered at when we take into consideration the enormities the Portuguese had perpetrated at Ningpo and Foochow. Shortly after, a great massacre of the Portuguese at Ningpo took place, and those who escaped were forced to flee to Macao, where they were allowed to settle, in return for an annual rental."

. . . . . .

"After the Portuguese, the Spaniards made their appearance in the East . . .in the Philippine Islands. . . .The bulk of the population of Manila, the Capital of the Islands, was Chinese. The Spaniards treated these Chinese settlers with systematic cruelty and oppression and at one time, fearing lest the Chinese population might become too numerous, they inaugurated a terrible massacre, hunting down the Chinese as if they were wild beasts and slaughtering them in immense numbers. This outrageous barbarity of the people from the West doubtless had the effect of making the Chinese more disinclined than ever to enter into any close relations with the strangers from over the seas." Pott, 88-90.

control was thus superimposed over parts of India and China, as well as Oceania and Africa, with the imposition of extra-territorial rights and the seizure of land and of industrial, commercial, tariff, and taxing privileges; the commercial motive actually responsible for this, took on forms from the most subtle exploitation of economic privilege in Indian and Chinese tariffs, to the open forcing of opium upon China. Then along came the missionaries' deprecation of indigenous religions and culture, and the historical criticism of the Orient's literary classics by scholars, impugning the sacredness of the great non-Christian lore. And just as the natural humiliation of Western emissaries and commercial agents in negotiations and court halls of China aroused a resentment against the Chinese and a determination to "get even" for it (as noted earlier), so on a larger scale the physical, sentimental, and ideologial attacks of the West provoked a racial and national consciousness among the upper classes everywhere in the Orient.[80]

Beginning in *India* about 1800, to take one country as an example, this awakening gathered momentum through a period of "half-dependence upon the ideals and the thought of others which gives the time an appearance of unripeness"; Indian leaders became more and more sensitive to attack, deprecation, or insinuation from outsiders. The polemic of missionaries steadily spurred on some of them to bitterness. The apparent arrogance of Lord Curzon's statements as Viceroy of India, 1899-1905, and the partition of Bengal, whipped them on to exasperation.

Speaking of the period of 1895-1913, Farquhar says:

> "In this last section of our period a frightful portent flamed up in India, anarchism and murder inspired by religion. . . . new ideals and passions which are visible in their best literature and noblest activity as well as in anarchism, distinguish it clear ly from earlier times. . . .The notes of what we tentatively call Religious Nationalism seems to be as follows:
>
> "A. *Independence.* A distinct advance in thought and action made itself manifest about 1870. Young India began to think of political influence and to defend the ancient religious heritage. Yet there was a sort of half-dependence on the ideals and the thought of others, which gives the time an appearance

of unripeness. In this new era we have the assertion of the full independence of the Indian mind. The educated Indian now regards himself as a full-grown man, the equal in every respect of the cultured European, not to be set aside as an Asiatic, or as a member of a dark race. He claims the right of thinking his own thoughts; and he is quite prepared to burn what he has hitherto adored and to create a new heaven and a new earth. . . .

"B. *A New Nationalism.* . . .Men now live at fever-heat, carried beyond themselves by a new overmastering devotion to the good of India. . . .It is burdened, tortured, driven forward by the conviction that the whole national life needs to be reinspired and reborn. Full proof of the depths to which the India mind has been stirred may be seen in this, that in all the best minds the new feeling and the fresh thought are fired by religion, either a furious devotion to some divinity of hate and blood, or a self-consecration to God and India which promises to bear good fruit. Finally, whether in anarchists or in men of peace, the new nationalism is willing to serve and suffer. The deluded boys who believed they could bring in India's millennium by murdering a few white men were quite prepared to give their lives for their country; and the healthy movements which incarnate the new spirit at its best spend themselves in unselfish service."[81]*

The accounts of nationalism in *Islam* are equally familiar.

Dr. Washburne, reporting to an Edinburgh Commission gives the outline of "a revival of the spirit of Islam all over Asia and Northern Africa—in part, at least, a revolt against the domination of Christian Europe, stirred up by the success of

*Again in a summary statement he asks regarding the Anarchism growing out of this Religious Nationalism:

"What were the causes of the sudden storm of furious hate?

"(1) The fact that India is under a foreign government. The first thought of the man filled with the new spirit is that this is utterly wrong. . . .

"(2) The race-hatred and race-contempt of Europeans. . . .

. . . . . .

"(3) Lord Curzon. . . .The cause lay in his self-confident and arrogant spirit and manner. Twenty years earlier they would have scarcely provoked comment; but, contemporaneous with the rise of the Indian mind to independence and national dignity and with the emergence of Asia from her secular slavery to Europe, they stung India to fury and worked wild ruin.

"(4) The inner antagonism between Hindu and Western culture. . . .

"(5) Exaggerated praise of India and condemnation of the West. . . . Dayananda, the Theosophists, Vivekananda, Sister Nivedita and all that followed them talked in the wildest and most extravagant way in praise of Hinduism and Indian civilization and in condemnation of Christianity and the West; so that they actually led the average educated Hindu to believe the doctrine, that everything Indian is pure, spiritual and lofty, and that everything Western is materialistic, sensual, devilish." *Farquhar*, 356-358.

> Japan; and in part a recognition of the fact that Moslem nations have had no part in the general progress of the world. It seems to be more a political than a religous revival. It has manifested itself to the world principally in the revolutions in Turkey and in Persia, and in the unrest among Mohammedans in India and Egypt. In all these countries there has been an awakening to the necessity of modern education something like that in China—not for the purpose of religious enlightenment, but as a means of reviving the political power of Islam. The Young Turks, for example, realise that their only hope of reviving the Turkish power lies in the education of the people, while at the same time they proclaim their loyalty to Islam—which is in principle the same position as that taken by the Government in China."[82]

Before 1875 in *Japan* the nationalistic surge had had its vitriolic backwash, gradually settling into non-violent forms of opposing objectionable features in the importations of custom, sentiment, and idea. Cary, the leading historian of Christian missionary work in Japan, charges a whole series of untoward influences in Japanese Christianity to "an exaggerated nationalism." In his evidence for the period 1889-1900 in which mission work was definitely retarded, he includes the following general items: a reaction against too swift attempts at Westernization, represented by the public avowal of the "Preservation of the National Excellencies" principle and by the establishment of the "Great Association for Honoring the Emperor and Preserving Buddhism"; an excited antagonism to the limitation of Japan's power in foreign treaties being made at that time; attempts on the lives of officials who were not ultra-patriotic; stormy political mass meetings; and excessive deference to the Emperor's title, picture, and educational Rescript.

In *China*, the rise of feeling may be traced in the records of riot and massacre which became matters of diplomatic concern,[83] coming to a climax in the great Boxer outbreak of 1900. Not so free as Japan, not so controlled from without as India, she has developed in her own way. The so-called Intellectual Awakening or Renaissance movement, gathering momentum since 1905, has produced claims of extreme nationalism, on the one hand, and, on the other, tendencies to evaluate both

indigenous customs and beliefs, and alien cultures by individual standards evidently divorced from nationalistic loyalty and prejudice.[84] The boycott against the Japanese, and the Student Movement have been its most recent spectacular manifestations.*

After the first shocks from demonstrations of Occidental power, any demonstration of the ability of one of these groups to defend itself and to get the better of its Occidental opponents, produced immediate encouragement. Militaristic or economic success, progress in education, or eulogistic defense of their literature, sent thrills of hope and confidence through their veins. Gradually self-confidence developed. Concessions of economic right or sentimental prestige that had been made early in the Oriental contacts with the West, were now retracted. Time and again the spurts of opposition were furious and firy. Changing the emphasis from time to time, their movements nevertheless gathered momentum. Abysinnia's victory over Italy in 1896 was not without effect upon all Islam and the Indian East. The climax seems to come with Japan's defeat of Russia in 1905: "Every Asiatic felt himself recreated by that great event," says Farquhar.

He quotes C. F. Andrews of Delhi as follows:

"A stir of excitement passed over the North of India. Even the remote villagers talked over the victories of Japan as they sat in their circles and passed around the *huqqa* at night. One of the older men said to me, 'There has been nothing like it since the Mutiny'. . . .

"My own work at Delhi was at a singular point of vantage. It was a meeting-point of Hindus and Musalmans, where their opinions could be noted and recorded. . . .The Musalmans, as one expected, regarded the reverses of Russia chiefly from the territorial standpoint. These reverses seemed to mark the limit of the expansion of the Christian nations over the world's surface. The Hindus regarded more the inner significance of the event. The old-time glory and greatness of Asia seemed destined to return. The material aggrandisement of the European races at the

*Recent periodicals of both East and West have reported these too fully to need particular reference or discussion.

> expense of the East seemed at last to be checked. The whole of Buddhaland from Ceylon to Japan might again become one in thought and life. Hinduism might once more bring forth its old treasures of spiritual culture for the benefit of mankind. . . ."[85]

Another climax has come with the termination of the 1914-1919 World War prolonged professedly to attain the "self-determination" of nations and the making of the world "safe for democracy." The boycott, and the non-resistance and non-cooperative movements have followed in its wake in Korea, China, India, and Egypt.

NATIONALISM AS A FACTOR IN OPPOSITION TO MISSIONS.—It appeared in the early part of this chapter that the insistence of Christian missions upon alien mores, is a cause of local group disapproval and sometimes of intense resentment. It is now apparent from the above sketch of the rise of nationalism, that this cause has fitted in with a number of other causes to arouse a common fund of resentment professedly associated with loyalty-to-things-indigenous and aversion-to-things-foreign. It is therefore inevitable that Christian missions, as upholders of certain things foreign, are inevitably included in the condemnation of the loyal nationalist. And, furthermore, those in family, caste, sectarian, or other local groups, who already condemn missions, naturally avail themselves of the prestige which comes from identifying their position with a nation-wide cause: they condemn them, not only as obnoxious per se, but as an affront and danger to national welfare.

From India, China, Japan, we hear the same story of *nationalism reinforcing general opposition to things-alien and thence general opposition to Christianity.*

> Of India, the Report declares: "The political spirit has engendered a deep suspicion of the West, and this suspicion has deepened into a race antagonism, and this racial antagonism is closely connected with everything that comes from the West. It is natural that our faith, which has come to them from the West, should be a point of attack. It is now the conviction of many that everything Oriental, including their faith, must be conserved at all hazards, and everything Occidental, including Christianity, must be withstood to the uttermost."[86]

As to China, it asserts: ". . . . .with the recent impact of the West there has developed among the Chinese the sentiment of nationality, and with that sentiment there has arisen an opposition to everything non-Chinese."[87]

In Japan, Cary finds that the nationalistic wave of 1889 to 1900 resulted in such definite attempts to thwart Christianity as the following: pressure is brought to bear upon soldiers to prevent their attending Christian meetings or having Christian books in their possession, and upon army officers to make them withdraw from the churches; school pupils are warned by teachers in all parts of the country, that they ought not to attend Christian Sunday schools; influence is used successfully upon partly Christian schools to compel them to minimize their Christian features or refuse to be known as Christian; and government regulations and other obstacles block Christian school graduates from entering the Imperial University.[88]

Some Western features are necessary, but they are mechanical and technological, it is claimed, not spiritual; and so far as they are at all social, they must be revamped into a peculiarly indigenousshape:—

Of Vivekananda's neo-Hindu platform Farquhar says: "Yet the Hindu requires to use Western methods and Western education. Nay, the Hindu must even give up his vegetarianism, and become strong and build up a powerful civilization on the soil of India."[89]

Referring again to the "exaggerated nationalism" characteristic of Japan in 1889-1900, Cary says: "Those who loved their country, it was said, ought to insist that everything coming from abroad should be remodeled so as to become really Japanese instead of foreign. Occasionally this contention took grotesque forms, as when in reply to criticisms on blunders in the use of English on the part of some who published articles in that language, it was soberly asserted that Japanese ought not to be bound by the grammatical rules observed in England and America, since they had the ability to produce a Japanese form of the English language that would be superior to that of the original. . . ."[90]

From this point of view it becomes legitimate to take over certain Christian features into the Somajes of India and into the reform movements of Japan—beliefs as well as propagandic methods,

as we saw in Chapter I—simultaneously with the repudiation of Christianity per se.

Those organizations which are already juxtaposed to alien enterprise are natural rallying points of nationalism. In boycotting England's trade in India or Japan's trade in China, the movement supports native industries. In opposing the "denationalizing" schools of foreigners, the movement promotes Moslem, Hindu, Chinese, and Japanese schools. In staying the influence of the alien missionary, the indigenous socio-religious movements are reinforced.

In 1910 the Report declared:

"There is a very resolute effort being made by many of the most influential men in China to exalt Confucianism with its excellent ethical system above Christianity, which is belittled as a foreign religion. A comparatively recent edict raised Confucius to the rank of a deity. Hitherto the worship of Confucius has been regarded as paying respect to the teacher *par excellence*—the Sage of China. He is now exalted to equal rank with Heaven, possibly in order to give him a place corresponding to that of Jesus Christ in the worship of the West. . . .According to imperial edict, divine honours are to be offered to him by officials and by Government students. Without this adoration of Confucius young men are not permitted to study in Schools recognized by the Government and are excluded from holding Government offices."[91]*

In a 1921 magazine article, "Can Japan be Christianized?" Zumoto refers to the effect of the *Koko-sui Hozen* ("Preservation of National Characteristics") movement thus:

". . . .Some thirty years ago it seemed as though the old religions of the land would follow the fate of other national institutions in nearly every direction. . . .But the tide was turned by the awakened spirit of nationalism. . . .One result of this new movement was a setback to the spread of Christianity, and a wonderful revival of activities in Buddhist circles."[92]

Of Indian nationalism, the Report contended:

"What concerns this Conference is that the new political consciousness, as has been shown, is almost inevitably anti-

*An out and out anti-Christian movement under the leadership of that eminent "liberal" and leader of education, Tsai Yuan Pei, developed in China during the spring of 1922. Its proclamation and the agitation resulting from it should provide materials for a fine case study.

British and pro-Hindu, and in Ceylon pro-Buddhist. These aspects of the new consciousness, especially in their extravagant forms, affect not only educational, but almost all forms of mission work. The anti-British feeling, in undiscriminating minds, becomes anti-Christian feeling: the pro-Hindu or pro-Buddhist feeling develops into a determination to uphold all that passes under the name of Hinduism or Buddhism."[93]

While the nationalistic support of the native religions and of their opposition to Christianity may be spontaneous and sincere, sometimes it is attributed to the clever manipulation of their leaders.

In Ceylon, the Report claimed:

"One of the most serious aspects of the Buddhist revival is the attempt made to identify Buddhism with patriotism, and to urge upon people that loyalty to the country implies loyalty to this religion."[94]

The Buddhist movement among the Singhalese south, it is charged, is "hostile to Christianity, representing it as alien, and Buddhism as national and patriotic."[95]

Buddhism took advantage of the nationalistic reaction of 1887 and following in Japan, according to the *Japan Mail* of April 27, 1889, and "endeavored to rekindle the embers of a faint faith by connecting the dignity of the throne with the permanence of Shaka's doctrine."[96]

The acme of this egoistic disparagement of Christian and Western opponents is reached in the assumption of divine mission to them and the role of abused innocence: like Christian missionaries these emissaries of truth and righteousness see themselves destined to redeem the world, Christians and all, from error and wickedness:—

Referring again to the neo-Hindu platform of Vivekananda, Farquhar says:

"Hindu civilization, since it springs from the oldest and noblest of religions, is good, beautiful and spiritual in every part. The foreigner fails altogether to understand it. All the criticism of European scholars is erroneous, and everything that missionaries say on the subject is wickedly slanderous. The Hindu nation is a spiritual nation. It has taught the world in the past, and will yet teach the whole world again."[97]

The second of Dayanand's chief tenets is stated thus:

"The Vedas, the treasury of science and morals, are revealed by God. I regard their textual portion as self-evident truth, admitting of no doubt and depending on the authority of no other book, being represented in nature, the kingdom of God."[98]

"The Christian lands are morally so corrupt that no human law can purify them. The wise among the Christians have been alarmed at the numberless evils that are undermining Christian society, and seeing the utter incapacity of Christianity to cope with the situations, are trying to mend matter by making new laws which are a direct contravention of Christian religion.

". . . .It was Islam which carried the torch of light to Christian Europe when it was sunk in medieval darkness and the darkness that now prevails in Christendom is also destined to be dispelled by the light of Islam."[99]

"Christendom of today may be compared to a sore, with a glossy surface of outward civilization, but inwardly full of impure matter. Innumerable are the evils that are corrupting Christian society,—and Christianity cannot cure them. They are in fact the fruits of Christianity and therefore it is wrong to look to it for cure. Nothing can remedy these evils save Islam."[100]

The testimony on "Group Attitudes," then, like that on "Difference in Mores" discussed in the earlier part of the chapter, is supposed to point out a fundamental cause of opposition to Christianity. Data on definite attitudes of group non-approval in families, economic and social classes, sects, government parties, etc., might be arrayed and analyzed if it were desirable. And not a little of applicable material will be found under other topics throughout the volume. It has seemed to the writer that it would avoid needless duplication and at the same time exhibit the possibilities of group attitudes, if two distinct types were taken up, one representing the more spontaneous disapproval and the other the more fixed habit. At one extreme, traditional opposition to Christianity as found in Islam, shows that the continued contact of these two groups may fail utterly to produce mutual tolerance. At the other extreme, the more spontaneous nationalistic disapproval illustrates on a large scale, the same lack of adjustment as it is found among the less habitualized group attitudes.

In order not to confuse the presentation of nationalism's effect on disapproval, testimony on the national, continental, and racial consciousness *in the missionary* was omitted in this section. The testimony on "Difference in Mores" in the early part of the chapter, however, implies some such "consciousness" just as it implies a "Special Group Attitude" of "Traditional Disapproval of Other Religions" on the part of the missionary. The very effort to substitute alien mores for indigenous mores, implies a long nurtured disapproval of the latter. And the fact that these alien mores are those of a Westernized Christianity implies a certain Western "consciousness." The inductive analysis of testimony bearing on the missionary's attitude, however, must be left for later treatment. Our main concern here has been with testimony regarding non-Christian attitudes as related to their own reactions toward Christianity.

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CHAPTER VI

PLAUSIBLE REASONS FOR REJECTION—*concluded*

(Professed Causes and Occasions of Non-Approving Behavior—*concluded*)

3. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

In the World Missionary Conference reports, under the heading of "Social Hindrances to the Acceptance of Christianity," there are references to social organization. And, indeed, an incidental statement seems at first sight to fall in with our previous point of view on highly organized groups:

> "The great and highly organized religions present a stronger resistance than the simpler nature worship of barbarous tribes."[1]

This, however, is a very exceptional statement, apparently not containing the connotation and implications which we have given the terms. For usual references that might be said to include social organization are likely to refer in a much looser sense to races, religions, nations, or the non-Christian world as a whole. The sweeping generalizations about racial and national tendencies which characterize the average newspaper or periodical pervade much of missionary literature and nationalist speeches. One people is said to oppose Christianity, 300,000,000 strong; one of 10,000,000 is receptive; again 400,000,000 are in a critical transition period which will last but a generation! A race is antagonistic to all things Western! A non-Christian world is "languishing for the Gospel"!

Rarely, a prophet of impending disaster points to separate institutions, and, with little reservation and less data that is applicable to the whole group, tries either to state their attitudes or to make predictions as to their disintegration in case Christianity should be tolerated. Yang Kwang-sien raised such a cry in China against Roman Catholicism in 1665. Many a Japanese has urged during the last century that the family and the state should be shielded from Christianity's influence.[2] The assertions of individual alarmed Indians and Moslems, we have already sampled. But oftentimes these assertions are too

personal and individual in their origin to be called group reactions per se, and too general and sweeping in their scope to give data on the reactions of social organization.

Inadvertently, if not purposely, some definite indications are given as to the reactions of specific groups and group organization in typical missionary literature—as represented by the Edinburgh Report. Under the very first non-Christian religion discussed, Animism, the relationship of these reactions to dif ferent social institutions and even to "society as a whole," seems to be clearly recognized.

> "A hindrance of equal gravity is the social organization of animistic peoples. Among them the unit is not the individual, but the family or the sept or the clan. 'The individual has not yet awakened to consciousness' (Warneck). The organization of the community is patriarchal or tribal. As a consequence, however much an individual may be dissatisfied with the old beliefs and practices, and however much he may be inclined to the new Christian faith, he finds it exceedingly hard to break with his old associations, 'so closely interwoven with their social institutions are many of their superstitions and superstitious observances.' (Canon Dale)."[3]

The Report goes on to speak of the influence of the community, the tribe, or society in fettering the individual in its clutches, and in "fostering" certain undesirable customs; the tribe even sits as a unit to decide formally on its policy toward certain customs of the new-comer. In the discussion of Chinese religions in the same volume there is a definite reference to social organization, though characteristically brief and vague.

> "The social hindrances in China are many and great. The whole structure of society is a hindrance. The family is the unit, not the individual. To think and act as an independent individual is contrary to the current of Chinese social life. It destroys the family harmony and breaks up its cohesion."[4]

Of Japan it is asserted that the individual is supposed to subordinate his actions and wishes to family, community, and national loyalties.

> ". . . .In Japan the unit of society is the family. According to the Japanese ideas the family consists of grandparents, parents,

children, grandchildren—sons and daughters of several generations. In early times it might constitute a whole village or town. Every member of a family, in this wide sense, is in duty bound to help the rest. Each member must be ready to sacrifice his own well-being, if necessary his life itself, for the welfare of the family. Everything gives way before the glory and honour of the family. When face to face with danger or death, a man's first thought is, how it will affect his family. If he be guilty of any disgraceful act it will bring dishonour on the whole family."[5]

In Hindu India, caste is spoken of as a complex of tyrannous obligations constituting the great social hindrance to Christianity.[6] Of the group organization represented in the religions of India, there is practically no recognition among the "moral," "social," and "intellectual" "Hindrances in the Way of Conversion to Christianity." This in juxtaposition with the preceding comments, is typical of the Report's confused presentation of group organization. Most conspicuous is the absence of any reference, aside from the one first quoted with regard to all highly organized religions, to social organization or to any type of group organization among obstacles to Christian missions in the great Mohammedan world![7]

A page and a half of Volume Two seems to represent the findings of the Report as well as any section.

"We addressed some questions to our correspondents with regard to the influence of racial characteristics [we omit further references to race], and the various forms of social organization that are met with in different parts of the mission field. The subject, however, is a large and difficult one, and the information which has been placed at our disposal does not enable us to deal with it thoroughly. . . .the village system in India is on the whole favourable to the spread and growth of Christianity, though being a compact organism, it tends to resist the profession of Christian faith on the part of its members as a disintegrating force threatening its own existence. . . .

"In China . . .the village system allows for the most part free access to the people on the part of the missionary, while a very real democracy in spirit and feeling enables all classes to listen together to the new teaching. The solidarity of Chinese society is perhaps not less than that of Indian society, but the individual seems able, notwithstanding, to assert more freely

his individual will. In both nations the family system is a great power. In India, in addition to this closely knit society, the individual is restrained by the powerful system of caste, . . .

"As in part, at least, the result of these peculiarities, it seems to have been easier to lead the Chinese Church to take upon its own shoulders its own burdens without leaning upon foreign help than it has been in India."[8]

There is in typical missionary literature, then, a certain recognition of restriction upon individuals' actions which is consciously and unconsciously exerted through family influence, community feeling, and the power of social opinion. It does not, however, take into consideration the modern sociological emphasis on group relations and group forces:[9] it seldom shows the relation of either the objective features or the psychological motivation of the group to definite actions, attitudes, and beliefs of non-approval.

This material from the Report represents the extent to which social organization is usually put forward as a professed cause of non-approval. Our own estimate of the role of social (or rather, group) organization is represented by the problem proposed in the subtitle of Chapter II: viz., "The More Permanent Responses as Conditioned by the Nature of the Subject's Group and Group Relationships." And although "professed causes and occasions" are all that we are now concerned with, it should be said that an occasional writer is taking up group reactions per se and there is considerable literature that bears upon them.

The most striking recognition given to group organization as a cause of non-approval, is Farquhar's *Modern Religious Movements in India.* It is a descriptive study of group reactions, which gives a great deal of information upon the functioning of the elements of group organization, and their significance for non-Christian disapproval of missions. Aside from this, sketches of separate religions, tribes, castes and reform movements are represented in missionary and non-Christian literature, which throw light on group organization as a cause of reactions to Christianity.

It is the non-Christian, convert, or missionary biography, the sketchy narrative of missionary exploits, the letters written to non-Christian magazines or some missionary magazines, which give us the best details on group influences to be found in the available materials. From these we hear of one person after another who is prevented from joining the Christian church by his family, clan, community, or caste. Others go through intense emotional experiences in breaking over opposition from some group. In few of these accounts, however, are any general inferences drawn as to the effect of social organization per se in producing non-approval of Christianity. The Mass Movement is of course the noted exception, as we shall find in studying approving responses. Here we find group influences more adequately recognized than anywhere else, though even here they are likely to be interpreted in the exclusively magico-religious way in which revivals so often are.

4. PROFESSIONAL GUARDIANSHIP AND OTHER VESTED INTERESTS

Without regard to overlapping, the popular or partisan critic adds another important factor to the mores, the group attitudes, and the social organization, in explanation of the failure of non-Christians to accept Christianity; viz., what we may call, in a very broad sense, vested interests. (It may be regarded for practical purposes as *an aspect of* social organization, resulting from division of labor, or, specialization of function.) It is commonly observed among the articulate that as an individual, either the warden, professional guardian, preserver and transmitter of the mores, or the man who secures advantage from interests dependent upon the *status quo* of the mores, is liable to throw his influence against innovation and a new order of things. His material or social position, his recognition and self-prestige, are dependent upon the *status quo*. That fact, consciously or unconsciously predisposes him against change.

Leaders of non-Christian Religions.—In spite of denial, religion seems to present no exception to this principle of economic and of what we may call psycho-social or just social, vested inter-

ests. The fact seems so obvious that to some it may scarcely require illustration. In certain Christian polemics and in apologetics to their Occidental supporters, missionaries assert that the Moslem mullahs, the Brahmans, the Buddhist priests, are leaders in the attack upon foreign propagandists as soon as they realize what the innovators are doing.

> When in 1873, an official notice was issued in Japan declaring that the public edicts against murder, robbery, etc., as well as against Christianity, had at last "been taken down 'because the people are so thoroughly acquainted with them and know them by heart,' . . .the Buddhist priests in some places instigated riots among the peasants in opposition to the removal of the boards."[10]

> "At one place visited by Mr. Atkinson [about 1876] the Buddhist priests decided that the best way to oppose the Christian religion would be to get the people to sign a pledge that they would have nothing to do with its teachers. This method was frequently adopted by the priests in later years; and they usually found it easy to get a large number to promise they would not attend Christian meetings, and that they would cease to have business or social relations with any person that accepted the hated religion. . . ."[11]

> ". . . .The Buddhist priests published (1882) a series of tracts on 'The Unreasonableness of Christianity.' One of these urged that the existence of noxious beasts disproved the doctrine of a wise and loving Creator. Another adduced the Crusades to show that Christianity gave rise to wars. Mass meetings like those inaugurated by the Christians were held. . . ."[12]

> In the Report we read of "an agent resident at Adis-Abeba in Abyssinia, whose work, however, is carried on mainly among the Gallas. There is a ready entrance for the Christian evangel, but the fanatical opposition of the debased priests of the Abyssinian Church and the drastic punishments inflicted by Abyssinian authorities on any one suspected of favoring another form of Christianity are great hindrances."[13]

These are but sample testimonies. If the reader will turn back to the materials in the preceding chapters, he will find that much of the opposition is spoken of as headed by leaders in Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, and lesser religions. One of the best sources of accusations on this score of vested interests, may be

found in the invective of non-Christian reformers against their more conservative co-religionists—indirectly it is of the highest importance for interpreting reactions to Christianity since the accused comprise many of the same individuals who oppose Christianity.

> Of the lectures by the founder of the Arya Somaj, we read: "These lectures put the whole community of the Brahmins and the other Hindus of old fashion into great commotion. Their vitals were touched by his boldly laying bare their hypocrisy and selfishness, which fabricated the Puranas to please the depraved ignorant mind of the superstitious Hindus, and gave out that the fables thus invented had their origin in the Vedas. . . .For a time they started up a society where pandits delivered lectures in support of idolatrous and superstitious rites already existing among the people. The lecturers took great care to pour forth volleys of invectives on the name of Swami Dayanand Saraswati to pander to the vitiated passions of the ignorant. Their height of rage against the Swamiji might be judged from an article in the *Koh-i-Noor* of the 19th of May, 1877, which concluded in praying, Would God end the excitement of the enraged populace in peace and quiet!"[14]

> Again: "The Brahmins complained that the Swamiji was ruining their livelihood of the whole life although, if they acted on his advice, they would be respected in the enlightenment of modern times. They went to Diwan Bhagwan Das, the son of Diwan Ratan Chand, in whose garden the Swamiji was put up, and told him that the Swamiji disrespected the Brahmins and reprobated the worship of images. The Diwan was then displeased with the Swamiji. It was therefore thought necessary to remove his lodging from the garden."[15]

Among primitive peoples vested interests come in for the same charges.

> "Free from fanaticism as animistic heathenism generally is, there are yet some rabid opponents of Christianity. These are men whose influential position is threatened—mainly chiefs. Such men are the official and interested guardians of custom, and they look forward to being one day promoted to ancestor deities. They are the priests who represent the people in the presence of the ancestor deities, and who are themselves regarded as semi-deities. In them the conservatism of the people is concentrated. . . .Their power rests first of all on ancestor worship, and then on the sword; and they have no desire to abandon

lucrative predatory raids. A chief in Samosir said to me quite frankly, 'Why should I become a Christian? Whence am I to get wealth and power if I give up waging war and hunting slaves?' The slave-holder, the tribal prince worshipped as a semi-deity, and the capricious tyrant all see in Christianity a disagreeable disturber of peace. The priests and magicians are still more malicious enemies; their trade is threatened with the loss of its enormous profits if those they have hitherto deceived become Christians. Everywhere these men are inexorable enemies of the missionaries and their adherents. . . ."[16]

"At another village Iemagia, high priest of Maslo, tried to interrupt our service. He roared at the people for listening, and all the women bolted except one old dame, who braved his anger. The men, however, took no notice of him. He then got his gun and ordered us to stop. I was engaged in prayer at the time, and at the close I made some pointed remarks to Iemagi which sent him roaring into the bush." [We wish Mr. Paton had favored us by quoting these remarks.][17]

And even in religions closely related in theory to the Protestant Christian—viz., the Eastern Christian, the Roman Catholic, and the Jewish—we find bitter opposition headed by the priesthood.

"About the year 1864, when Habeeb was a young man living in his father's home, an evangelical colporteur began to visit the village of Mahardeh. Habeeb's father was a man of some consequence in the village, being recognized as the agent of the bishop in all secular affairs. In this position he was especially hostile to every attempt to turn the minds of the people toward the evangelical doctrine." [See following pages for details.][18]

One of the prominent apologists for Christian missions, declares, "If the facts were fully understood, it would appear that most of the opposition to missionaries in any country arises from officials of existing religious orders, or from those to whom the fundamental principles of Christian living are a constant reproach."[19]

In spite of such charges as these, however, we frequently have evidence that some priests, at least, are by no means alert to denounce or cripple Christianity. There is little reason for assuming that all are Puritanically serious-minded, professionally jealous of rivals, or afraid that Christianity will mean the loss of their livelihood.

In one instance, daily "Divine service," attended by a group of working men, is reported unequivocally as "a stratagem to lighten their labour":

". . . .I began to read prayers thrice a day; we had thus abundant relaxation from our labor, which, in fact, was the sole motive of our devotions. For this reason my companions were constantly urging me to prolong these meetings as much as possible. In our prayers we never forgot the archimandrite, through whose means we had to labour here, and besought the Almighty to requite him duly for our sufferings. We remembered, with similar feelings, the directing alderman, and others of the same stamp. . . ."[20]

P. Venkayya, wearied with the journey to a religious festival sat down on the bank of the river in which thousands were bathing. "A priest accosted him with the words, 'Are you going to perform your ablutions?' thereby volunteering his help to say the mantras necessary. . . .'No, sir,' answered Venkayya. 'Do I need to bathe here? The water is so fouled by the multitudes of people who are plunging into it and stirring up the mud, that it is not capable of cleansing my filth from off my body; how can it possibly wash away my sins?' The priest asked in astonishment, 'Are you a Christian?' 'No,' replied Venkayya, 'but I desire to be one.' Afraid to be overheard, the priest whispered, 'I will tell you of one who will make you a Christian. Go to the Christian guru who lives in yonder house on the hill; he will tell you how to become a Christian,' and then passed on."[21]

". . . .Not long ago, a Buddhist priest, at a funeral, told his hearers that Buddhism was fit for this world only, and if they wanted real consolation, they should go to Christianity for it, for that was the only religion from which it could be derived. A few years ago, a priest brought his daughter to the Christian school with which I was connected at the time. When asked why he had decided to send his daughter to a Christian school and not to a Buddhist one, he replied that Buddhism was good enough for an old man like him, but it was not good enough for his daughter."[22]

Vested Interests: Political, Economic, and Social.—Vested interests intrenched in other positions than that of priesthood have been prominent in opposing Christianity. The data on legal restriction and prohibition of missions in Chapters I and II are apropos here. Moreover, as Roman rulers promoted it for its unifying influence, so, missionaries note, French colonial adminis-

trators, British rulers over Mohammedans, and autonomous native rulers, have been noted for opposing it for the very opposite reason, viz., for its inflammatory, unsettling, or disorganizing influence. In recent years the Japanese are charged with delimiting vigorously its activities because it exposes cruelties of Japanese military occupation, or because it does not subserve imperial purposes to the desired extent by instilling loyalty to Japan among the Koreans. Although this topic will come up later, it is instructive at this point to note such a typical position reflected in testimony unhampered by the usual cant and moralizing of many nationals:

> Regarding the recent punitive expedition of the Japanese into Chientao, a Japanese writes:—"The situation has become more complex by the ever-increasing influence of the foreign missionaries. It would be no exaggeration to state that the real rulers of Chientao have been a handful of these men and women during the last decade." After attributing this to their medical work, friendliness, and gospel message, the writer continues: "But with all my respect for the missionaries, I could not listen with equanimity to the various stories about their activities during the darkest days of the guerilla war—about their shadowing the Japanese troups with their cameras, taking photographs of the alleged atrocities, and sending the pictures thus taken to the anti-Japanese papers and elsewhere to incriminate the expedition. When advised to refrain from meddling in politics, these gentlemen are reported to have declared it their duty whenever and wherever the cause of humanity was at stake." His own comment is: "The world once started rolling by the Versailles Conference, from Nationalism toward Internationalism, will reach its destination in time to come, and then, and not until then, a citizen may be justified in meddling with the interests of a foreign Power in the name of 'humanity.' Removed as they are from the realm of realism, those missionaries who maintain a sympathetic attitude toward the Korean independence movement seem to overlook the important point of political expediency." He goes on to accuse Koreans of influencing missionaries with the hope of bringing themselves gain through an American-Japanese war.[23]

That the chiefs of more primitive peoples oppose Christianity at times just as these more developed peoples, because their power is based on the old regime, is shown in quotations already given.

According to students and observers, ecomonic interests usually form considerable bulk among what appear to be political ones and vice versa. This is easily illustrated in the non-Christian world, for, from the East India Company to the Japanese wholesaler aided by his government, few assert that political exploitation is primarily charitable![24]* Specific instances are occasionally found in missionary literature moreover, where political obstructionism or opposition is definitely ascribed to economic interests. Here is a lesser instance:

> Referring to teaching crafts in missionary schools the Report says:
>
> ". . . .in parts to South Africa, and especially in Natal, the white artisans are showing themselves jealous of any form of native education which imparts skill in handicraft to those who might become their competitors in industry. Politically influential, these organizations of white artisans are rendering it difficult for the Government to encourage those kinds of native education which are most beneficial to character and most productive of civic efficiency."[25]

There is little of the persistent accusation found in the West that monied interests make a practice of encouraging, supporting, and defending the indigenous religion for the meekness and the contentedness it begets in the industrial classes, and of deposing those who apply its social teachings in ways requiring a radical change in the *status quo*.†

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*Apropos of this see Charles A. Beard, *The Economic Basis of Politics.* As the imperialist's side is the one most easily accessible, it may be worth while to say that in looking up early colonial history, such data and documents as are presented by nationalists like Lajpat Rai of India and Western internationalists like E. D. Morel and L. Woolf, should also be consulted. Leonard Woolf, *Empire and Commerce in Africa:* A Study of Economic Imperialism, may be taken as a sample of the latter.

†This charge of supporting a religion that produces meekness and submission is classically presented in Nietzsche's doctrine of slave ethics encouraged among the common masses for the sole benefit of the more successful, assertive, clever part of the population. This has filtered down through the radical social revolutionists and reformers, even to Upton Sinclair's recent *Profits of Religion.* The actual deposition from positions in church, school, and government of those who desire a radical change in the *status quo* is merely contemporary history in certain communities in America at least, especially aggravated in post-war times. E.g., see Church, Christianity, etc., in indices of books by James M. Williams.

Social position among complex-culture peoples affords a motive as certainly as does intrenchment in religious, political, or economic position, though it is not so generally recognized in the "protest literature" of today—and, it is also associated more or less with each of these. Who is it that figures in the movements against Christianity in India—the lower castes or the upper? The upper, of course. Who is charged with opposing both commercial and religious invasions of China? The officials and the literati whose prestige or social status was at stake. Note the sort of accusations made against the Chinese officials and literati as a typical class:—

> After a definite period of receptivity toward Jesuits, Lord Napier and other foreigners were not willing, says Timothy Richard, to obey orders of the "sole ruler of the world." There soon followed the opium wars and Western compulsion. Then "the Taiping rebellion made the Chinese fear religious propaganda as a dangerous political movement. Consequently, even after treaties of religious toleration had been signed, the Chinese Government gave instructions to its officials, high and low, that they were to do their utmost to prevent missionaries settling in the interior, lest they should steal the hearts of the people. One man in Kiangsu, on whose person a letter from a foreigner was found, inquiring about a house to rent, was put to death. Landlords who rented houses to 'foreign devils' were to be arrested and severely punished This policy explains the fact that the opening of almost every mission station in China was accompanied afterwards by a riot, originated by the officials and gentry."[26]

As preliminary to describing the heckling, scoffing, and brawling, defiant denunciation of a native Christian elder's preaching, by a select group of young literati in Moukden and Liaoyang about 1875, Rev. John Ross summarizes his own experience up till about 1889, thus:

> "The belief that the missionary forms the vanguard of foreign aggression has been widespread, and has taken deep hold of the Chinese mind. . . .the belief is the most serious obstacle standing in the way of the missionary. The common people are little concerned as to the nationality or character of the actual ruler, as long as they are allowed to carry on without molestation their commerce or their agriculture. They are sufficiently willing to pay their light taxes and to leave to the Government the right of spending them as they choose, and the duty of conducting in its own way all kinds of political action.

"But the literary classes, out of which all the mandarins are chosen, regard politics and interferences with them in quite another light. They and the official classes are the same grade; what affects the one class affects the other. Although the literary man may never become an official, he is always up in years before he loses the hope that in some position he will be called upon to serve the state. Hence the literary classes are intensely political . . .as success by a missionary is, in the estimation of the literary man, only another name for recruits for the armies of the foreigner, he is keenly sensitive to the subject. With the exception of a few, who reason themselves into believing that Christianity denounces, and is necessarily antagonistic to Confucianism, there are none, so far as we have learned, who are opposed to Christianity as a religious system. All the opposition encountered by Christianity arises from the belief that it is a political agency."[27]

In 1903 Jernigan wrote that "it is to the writings of the literati that the missionary may look for his most powerful foe. There is no one class of China so influential in forming and directing public opinions as the literati, and this class is untiring in the employment of every means known to Oriental indirectness and chicanery to defeat the spread of Christianity, being more dangerous than the official class, because far more capable."[28]

". . . .Dr. Henry now directed me to work in my native place—Kiu-Kiang-Shu. Dr. Luk-Mai-tong came to assist. We rented and repaired a chapel. Usually I preached and then Dr. Luk dispensed medicines. Great crowds attended, and prospects were good.

"This excited the ire of the rich men [doubtless referring to the literati and officials], who determined to drive us out. First they sent a native doctor to us. He said as his business had been ruined by us, he would expect us to keep him free of charge. We replied that those we treated free were the poor. If rich people came, we would charge them dearly. 'Now we will treat the poor and you can treat the rich, and have the money.' He went away angry and spoke evil of us.

"Then the rich men sent my sister-in-law to me, who pleaded with me to leave and work elsewhere. She told me of the placards which were posted on the walls around the city denouncing me and using unutterably bad language about me. I replied that I had offended no one and thought I would remain.

"The next day there were red placards on the walls telling the people that we were the emissaries of foreigners, exhorting

them not to believe the 'spirit' teaching, and to prepare themselves against future danger. At the same time they offered four hundred dollars for my head. But we went on preaching and healing.

"Four days afterward a mob broke into the premises. One of the men said, 'My mother, yesterday, after taking some of your medicine, died.' Then they took their bamboos and smashed all the furniture. Dr. Luk and I stood looking at them, but they did not harm us. After this, however, I took my wife away. It was in this year that she, by God's grace, was converted.

"The magistrate repaired the chapel. We had been in it about a month, when a second mob, more fierce than the first, attacked us. Dr. Luk and I had to escape by the roof to save our lives. We made our way to a boat in the river and escaped to Canton."[29]*

Again, who spread threats of violence and magical disaster along with the priests of primitive peoples? The "old men," who are the keepers of things as they are, it is fairly well recognized.

". . . .There were plenty of people, but they generally decamped as soon as they saw us coming. The Sacred men had told them that they would die if they listened to the Worship, and hence their special fear of us on the Sabbath. On week days they came about us freely, for they could then make something out of us, and the Sacred men quite approved of that."

"Afterwards I found out what was keeping Lomai back. . . . .He knew that we had come for their sakes, and he knew that the fashion of Tanna was bad, but he was under the influence of the old men."

". . . .They really believed that they would sicken and die if they came to the Worship. Others discovered that the new teaching clashed with their most cherished sins, and many fell away on that account."[30]

And so on. International status, even, seems to operate as a professed cause of non-approval in Japan, as the Dr. Kato type of nationalist reminds us.

The way in which status and prestige actually operate is *not quite so simple* as it might appear. Court officials or literati may oppose innovators because they claim treatment as equals; priests or Brahmins may oppose foreigners because they really

*The reader should not miss Alexander Michie's *China and Christianity*, chaps. iii-viii, e.g. p. 79.

threaten to discredit the whole structure supporting them; the rich may oppose because a few of their lucrative practices are openly condemned; the elite, because in a Christian church they or their children would be joining a body below their social status; and one of the reasons non-Christian parents in China and Korea have not let their children come to Christian Sunday Schools is that they have feared the social disgrace of having their children becoming Christian.

> Among pupils of the————High School,————China, who joined the Christian church was the daughter of an official family. The family protested vigorously: she should not join the church of the poor common people! Miss————, teacher in that school, says that the family compelled her to bow to the family ancestors by physical force, she protesting that she was not worshipping because she was a Christian. After persuasion by her pastor she temporarily gave up membership in the church. The family took her out of the school. But they were so eager for her to get a Western education that later they sent back both her and her sister. The sister now became a Christian. The family permitted it. And though the girls are temporarily off of the church roll, they both avow Christianity.[31]

Undoubtedly status, prestige, recognition, are fundamental possessions and prerogatives defended in many a counter-attack.

The activities of these wardens or vested interests, like all activities of human beings, are likely to be accompanied by verbal statements, *rationalizations*—in this case, partisan statements of defence and accusation—and are certain to be accompanied by appropriate supporting attitudes. The Chinese doctors said their professional trade was ruined by the missionaries. The literati declared the foreigners would get power into their hands. Nowadays, in discussing the punitive expedition into Chientao, Manchuria, where the Japanese troops burned a mission school, we still have the argument for power.

> Putting the opinion of Westerners in China, President Wilson's dictum on self determination of peoples, and missionary sympathy with the Korean protests—all together, *The Far East* says editorially: "Japan's political position, which is unassailable, must be considered apart from [such] questions of morality." It goes on to quote in full the Biblical incident where

> Jesus declared that men should "render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's, and unto God the things which be God's."[32]

Of one's self there is usually defence and "patriotic" praise; of the innovators, deprecation and depreciation;—with corresponding *attitudes* of egoism, in the one case and of antipathy in the other. The antipathy may be combined with an "aggressive strategy" or with an expression of pity and possibly a sense of obligation to proselytise the unfortunate opponents. The presence of these verbal statements and supporting atitudes among non-Christian groups in general, has been illustrated in the discussion of "Group Attitudes." Both the sweeping exaltation of one's mores and the sweeping defamation of one's opponents, are, in all probability, products of the accentuation of group spirit generated by leaders, and not initiated by the masses.

Leaders of Christianity.—The data found on the professional guardianship of propagandists may seem in some respects to be different from that of the opponents of Christianity. Yet, since non-Christians make issues out of certain things connected with this special professional relation of the missionary to Christianity, that relationship must be considered along with the missionaries' charge that non-Christian leaders provoke opposition to Christianity. Now it is obvious that the Christian missionaries are per se wardens or vested interests of Christianity, as are priests of any religion. This aspect of their leadership must therefore be taken for granted, and is done so by all parties. Of course they promote and defend Christianity.

But let us go back to earlier charges. To some extent political motives certainly did lie behind early Protestant missions. These seem to be absent in most present-day missions, though it may still be found as an issue—as was shown under "Persistence of Suspicions and Misconceptions." In addition, it is claimed, missionaries have played into the hands of the political ambition of government and of governmental supporters, sometimes consciously, as ardent believers in colonial administration,

sometimes unconsciously; but always far more than they realize. This charge is persistently made by nationalists of certain colonial countries. The same is true of the economic exploiters. As for status, so far as acquiring colonies gave status, and so far as missions were an aid to holding colonies by supporting the colonial regime, they have in the same way contributed to status —these colonial nationalists continually remind us.

> "The question of our attitude towards the Christian missionary is not an academic one. His misrepresentation of India at home, and miseducation of Indians in India, do us serious injury by suggesting that it is England's God-given mission, not only to rule, but to civilise and to convert us, and by raising up a generation of 'educated' Indians who are indeed strangers in their own land."[33]

The accusations of recent Indian, Egyptian, or other nationalists reopen all of these discussions on the basis of a subtler kind of support than that charged against Roman Catholics emissaries of preceding centuries. Their charges should be carefully examined as professed causes of dissatisfaction with Christian missions.

The study of the subtle yet significant feeling of status inseparable from a propagandic tutorial attitude, on the part of the propagandist himself, we hope to take up in a study of the psychology of the propagandist in a later volume. The psychology of his home organization and constituency would show this attitude with even more candor.

> In an impassioned criticism of the missionary administrator's attitude toward the rising native leader, an Indian Christian clergyman seems to have in mind both an exaggerated tutorial attitude, and the support of a governmental regime that lowers the status of Indians to that of a subject people. He says in part:
>
> "There are today many thousands of people in India who are really Christians, having the spirit of Christ, and practising the golden rule of conduct, but who are not known or labelled as Christians, and who do not see the necessity nor wisdom of identifying themselves with Christian organizations and missionaries, who [missionaries] appear to lack the spirit of Christ, and let the spirit of brotherhood be subservient to the spirit of Western militant nationalism."[34]

The activity, the attitudes, and the statements which in general characterize the missionary as a professional guardian of Christianity, are made the butt of so much criticism and opposition that they deserve detailed consideration. Here we are concerned with them purely as issues raised by non-approvers. In a later volume, we discuss the analysis of the Christian propagandists' behavior and beliefs per se. In the first place, then, it is charged that their statements and attitudes show that they come with complete confidence in their own interpretation of their religion, but yet with an inexactness and exaggeration characteristic of partiality and special pleading; and that these facts make sophisticated non-Christians averse to it.

> "The fifth of the Ten Commandments of the Lord of Heaven is 'Honour thy father and mother.' Some tracts have lately been published entitled, 'Elements of the Five Virtues in the Holy Scriptures,' and 'Elements of the Five Social Relations in the Holy Scriptures,' which are made up of texts picked out of different parts of the two Testaments and twisted so as to bear out the meaning of the title; but they do not contain the correct principles of the human relations. They are merely got up to stave off troublesome opponents and also, at the same time, to take people in; but they do not represent the real spirit of the Protestant religion. . . ."[35]

Mores undergoing serious cross-fire, or discredited back among their home constituency, are presented as if they were intact or ideal. With scathing sarcasm, missionaries are denounced in some quarters for dogmatically and either ignorantly or blandly neglecting the results of historical criticism of the Bible, whereas at the very same time the more scholarly of them ply with untiring industry the same technique of historical criticism upon the sacred books of the East.

> "He makes attacks on Islam forgetting that those very attacks are being made with greater force against his own religion. He traces the teachings of the Holy Prophet promulgated at Mecca to Jewish, Christian, Egyptian, Babylonian, Zoroastrian and Indian sources.
>
> ". . . .he forgets that the teachings ascribed to Jesus in the Christian scriptures have actually been traced to Jewish, Egyptian, Babylonian, Persian and other sources."[36]

"Of late, anti-Christian literature has been finding its way into the vernacular, including attacks on the historicity of the Gospels, and objections of the ordinary rationalist type. Mohammedans as well as Hindus are using such weapons. They are also taking advantage both of the unrest in the West and of the interest in comparative religion. I heard recently of a Mohammedan publication which printed in parallel columns extracts from European writers in praise of Mohammed, and quotations from recent Bible dictionaries, etc., seeming to discredit the historicity of the Bible.'"[37]

The fact that other contemporary exposures, criticisms, and estimates of Christianity are similarly overlooked, it is charged, is a cause of disrespect and contempt for missionary Christianity; e.g., it is overlooked that Christian democracy and freedom and liberty are a mockery; nothing is hinted as to Christian doctrines being actually antiquated and negated by philosophy and science; no cognizance is allowed of the narrowness and impracticability of Christian standards, etc.

The charges which Dr. Norman Maclean, writing to the Manchester Guardian, "brings against Islam are exactly those which the Western rationalist brings against Christianity. . . .That the God of the Christian Bible bears a strong resemblance to an oriental despot, that Christianity treats woman with great contempt and that its followers have displayed great fanaticism and have shed more blood in the name of religion than the followers of any other religion are the objections which are urged against Christianity."[38]

"From one cover of the Bible to the other there is not a single syllable in condemnation of slavery.

"Although slavery was a flourishing institution at the period when Jesus is 'supposed' to have lived, he did not utter one word against the evil. . . .

. . . . . .

". . . .The slaves transported to Muslim countries were a mere bagatelle to those transported by Christians to Christian lands, especially America. The principal ships engaged were British, commanded by Britishers. Two of them, one the 'Jehovah' and the other the 'Jesus,' the later commanded by Captain Hawkins, have become famous. . . .

"What were the Churches and the clergy doing all this time to stamp out the evil? An evil which under Christianity became ten times worse than under Paganism? Nothing.

"It was the work of such man as Bayle, and Montaigne, and Becarria and Voltaire who first taught Europe the lesson of justice and humanity. . . .

". . . .'If,' said Theodore Parker, 'the whole American Church had dropped through the continent and disappeared altogether, the anti-slavery cause would have been further on.'

. . . . . .

"The liberation of the slave was brought about by the same great social movement that brought about the emancipation of the worker and ushered in the reign of Democracy.

". . . .During the whole struggle *the Church always ranged herself on the side of privilege and despotism.* She opposed every movement of the worker for liberty of action and freedom of conscience. Now she claims to have accomplished them. *She opposed every discovery of science and every theory.* Now she claims them as her own. The educated worker scorns her and science ignores her. The great Democratic movements of Europe are solid against Christianity. *Her claim is a farce, and her position a mockery,* her attitude justifies only laughter and contempt." [Italics mine.][39]

There are frequent evidences, too, of the criticism that the presentation of Christianity is professionally formalized by its guardians and on that account inadequate, as well as out of date. This is something like the charge made in the West that Christianity is distorted in the churches by ceremonial, theological, and ecclesiastical paraphernalia. Critics claim that it is presented as an ecclesiastical organization and polity and as a doctrinal formulation, whereas the Christianity of its founder was neither—many, as Rutnam says, claim to be attracted by Jesus and even to accept him, but not the Christian missionary's requirements. Bernard Lucas, a progressive missionary in India, makes this question the central factor of his book, *Our Task in India.*

An issue is made, too, of the alleged inordinate and inaccurate praise of Christianity as a force for progress, by its professional guardians. Evidences of the claim will come up in our study of the propagandist. Opponents assert in ridicule that this claim is a fiction thoroughly disproved by historians and scientists of the West, and that both man and woman have been deprived of human rights by Christian sanction.

"Consulting history, we learn that the advent of Christianity has had no relation to progress except to check it. Christianity never did the Balkans any good, nor Mexico. Greece is not what she was before it was introduced. As has well been said, it reduced Ireland to a harp, Spain to a guitar, and Italy to a hand organ. Its advent in Japan was reckoned a greater misfortune than a universal earthquake could have brought. In France it helped progress only by producing the Revolution, brought in part to overthrow the Roman Catholic church. Progress is not made in Russia except in opposition to the Christianity that was introduced into that country. Abyssinia has been Christian longer than England, and its people do not know the meaning of progress. A historian should know that there was high civilization and progress before Christianity was heard of, and this knowledge should make it impossible for him honestly to say that Christianity is the author of civilization.

". . . .Christianity is, in one or other of its protean forms, the present nominal religion of the temporarily dominant nations of the day, with the exception of Japan, just as the worship of the gods of Olympus characterised the only progressive civilization in the world some twenty-five centuries ago, and as the dominant and most progressive power of twenty centuries ago held mainly to the Augustan creed. There was a still earlier day when it could truthfully be said that "wherever the worship of Osiris and Amon is, there is progress; elsewhere coincident decadence". . . . .This stupid ascription of the progress of the carriage to the fly sitting on the hub of the wheel is not to be excused on account of its antiquity as a means of special pleading on behalf of dogmas otherwise indefensible."[40]

"Christian Missionaries are often heard stating that Christianity has raised the position of woman. Yet nothing can be farther from truth.

"Christianity has degraded rather than raised, the status of woman. The woman of pagan Europe had more rights under the Roman and Greek systems than a Christian woman has under the Christian system. Indeed there is a movement in favour of woman in Western countries, but this movement has arisen not because of Christianity, but in spite of it.

"If one desires to know the true Christian attitude towards woman, once need only cast a glance at the sayings of the early Christian fathers which have been quoted in these pages more than once. St. Augustine said, 'Why was woman created at all?' St. Ambrose: 'She is more fitted for bodily work. . . .She was not made to the image of God like man.' "

The editor then quotes from P. Vivian's *The Churches and Modern Thought* to show how a modern clergyman upholds the Biblical position of the inferiority of woman and of the dominance of man as a fact purposed by the Creator. In conclusion he contends that his data and arguments "reveal the attitude which pious Christians maintain toward women even in the twentieth century of the Christian era. In the face of these facts it is idle to assert that Christianity assigns a high position to woman."[41]

"'The sixth (commandment) says: "Thou shalt not kill;" but this means, "Thou shall not kill people of our religion;" but they murder the most virtuous persons and superior men if they do not belong to their religion.'"[42]

"The eighth says: 'Thou shalt not steal;' but they seize on other countries and make them subject to their own. Is this not flagrant robbery?"[43]

Parallel with this idealized and professionalized evaluation of his own mores, the propagandist is, of course, accused of partisan and professionalist under-evaluation of the religions he comes to replace. Having absorbed by personal influence, training, and practice, the various customs and prejudices of a particularistic Occidental type of mores; having imbibed with them the fixed criteria, fixed point of view, and fixed solution of problems with which this narrowed version of mores regarded other mores: having secured no information of these other mores except through prejudiced sources and after his own group attitude toward them has been predetermined; and, now in his profession, concentrating his entire activity upon substituting his version of mores for theirs—under such circumstances, it is said, it would be impossible for him with his vested interests, to be capable of a fair estimate of the religions and mores of these people.

Speaking of the usual missionary school-mistress, Coomaraswamy says:

"In any case she is not prepared for her work of education by a sympathetic study of local ideas, culture and traditions; if she studies the heathen religion at all, it is mainly in books written by those who do not sympathize with, and therefore do not fully understand it."[44]

He further charges up to Christian missions, "a relentless and systematic campaign of vilification of all things Indian. I do not mean to say that the missionary quite deliberately falsi-

fies the facts; on the contrary, he deceived himself as well as others; this is easy, for when the plant is already identified as a thistle, it is difficult to see figs upon it, even if they be there. The missionary is not aware of his false witness; he does generally present things as he sees them, but he sees through highly coloured spectacles, which he removes when turning for comparison to inspect a Christian society at home. Thus he blackens India's name in all good faith, if one may call it so, and with the best intentions."[45]

"The method is simple and even obvious; Indian society, being like all others, mixed good and evil, the missionary (by no means free from the ordinary prejudices of other Anglo-Indians) sees and describes only evil; much that is merely strange he mistakes for evil, or notices only because it is strange; much he argues from particular instances to be universal; and all he sets down to the vile nature of the Hindu religion or of Islam or Buddhism as the case may be. It is as if a Chinese visitor to England, courteously received, were to describe to his friends in Pekin, the effects of drink and poverty, agricultural depression, the overcrowded slums with their moral and physical results, sweated industries and dangerous trades, baby-farming, street prostitution, the unemployed, and the idle rich, and ascribe all together to the vile nature of the Christian dogma. How easy it would be for him to do this has, by the way, been suggested by Mr. Lowes Dickinson, in his *Letters of a Chinaman* [*Letters from a Chinese Official*]."[46]

His Western temperament caps the climax, guaranteeing his distortion of things African and Oriental. His peculiar sectarian and Western modes of thought, his thought content, his practices, his attitudes, all unfit him to judge the cultural "spiritual" heritage of these peoples even more than they make him liable to misinterpret his own mores.

All Propagandists as Vested Guardians, Christian and Non-Christian.—The bias of special interests is in some measure to be expected: each man has his own color of spectacles, and each will of course defend his own interests when they are attacked. But, it is charged, the Christian representative is not only a warden, and the non-Christian is not only a vested interest,—both at times are propagandists. As such their fundamental aims are professionally opposed. Certain facts behind this charge emerged

in our earlier examination of counter-attack, of the religious aspects of mores, etc. Their work from the time they arrive—viz., a repetition and presentation of their beliefs in some form or other,—only enhances their bias.

> "A missionary after a painfully intense discussion once exclaimed to me, 'The light that is in you is darkness.' Of course, I never dreamed of thinking that of him. For him, light had to be filtered through glass of a familiar colour before it could be recognised as light. . . .The whole endeavour to prove that the light in heathen belief is not the same light as in Christian is an appalling waste of energy, when the real need is to awaken men to the fact that there is a light at all. What devout Hindu or Mussalman has ever doubted that? The materialist is the true heathen."[47]

This, of course, is the climax of the objections raised against wardenship: "Each man has his own religion; why do you try to convert our constituencies? We must fight for our places and our religion." This is quite familiar in missionary literature, a number of pages in Volume One of the Report being devoted to the urgency of further work in view of the missionary revival of non-Christian religions. But the Moslem, Hindu, and Buddhist report the growing power of Christianity, also, as reasons for further propaganda.

> "The Arya Somaj was probably the first body that proposed to outflank the missionary movement:
>
> " 'While the people of Indian increased in 1891-1901 at the rate of 1½ per cent, native Christians increased at the rate of over 30 per cent. Just consider for a moment what Christian missionaries are accomplishing in India, though they come here from the remotest part of Europe. They beat even the Arya Somajists, in spite of their preaching the indigenous faith of the country. The reason is that the Arya Somajists have not yet learnt to work among the masses who form the backbone of India. It is high time for us to realize that the future of India lies not in the hands of higher classes but of the low caste people, and if we devote the best part of our energy in raising the status of the masses, we can make every Indian household resound with the chanting of Vedas at no distant date. But where are the men, where is the sacrifice?' "[48]

". . . That they have become alarmed by the inroads of Christianity is seen from the following extract taken from a pamphlet issued by the Hindu Tract Society and designed to arouse Hindus to sharper opposition: 'Do you not know that the number of the Christians is increasing and the number of Hindu religionists decreasing every day? How long will water remain in a reservoir which continually lets out but receives none in? Let all the people join as one man to banish Christianity from our lands.' "[49]

"The rapid growth of Islam is causing a great alarm among the great leaders of the Christian World these days. Well-constructed plans and elaborate schemes are being made in Europe and America to thwart this progress. At a special committee of the World's Sunday School Convention, appointed this week in New York, it was decided that an attempt should be made to conquer Mohammedanism by educating children under Christian guidance. The modern crusade will be conducted not by the sword, but by the primer and the blackboard. Sensational reports are being published in the American and European newspapers, and a great enthusiasm is shown by the people. The furious storm is coming with great threats, and if we, True Believers, fail to hold our positions, destruction is sure and certain. The enemy has got to be faced and a fierce battle has to be fought. It is up to you, brother Moslem, to realize the gravity of the situation."[50]

5. METHODS AND INTERPRETATIONS EMPLOYED BY PROPAGANDISTS

The instigation of propaganda, then, is the climax of the charges against vested guardianship. The partisan interpretations resulting from having a vital and therefore vested interest in Christianity, a professional interest in it, are naturally interpretations that function in propaganda itself. Some of them may have been welded in missionary activity. These facts make the last few pages as apropos of the present topic as the preceding. Yet those methods and interpretations of propaganda, which provoke non-approval, include more than the partisan conceptions usually characteristic of vested interests. They might legitimately be said to include every aspect of missionary work which is subject to criticism. Obviously then we must

narrow the field as to which we exhibit testimony, to those issues that have appeared typical as well as salient.

Before taking up these issues in detail, it should be understood that the attitude which is termed "propagandic" serves as a matrix for the "Methods and Interpretations Employed by Progapandists." That attitude as found in Christian missions, we may tentatively define as a tutorial and manipulative one involving assumptions of superiority and of proprietary right. The program it sanctions is fundamentally objectionable to primitive peoples and to Moslems, Jews, and Roman Catholic Christians; and, in view of our data on highly complex cultures might be objectionable to cultured Hindus, Chinese, and Japanese. But, among these latter peoples, as among some of the former, the basis of repulsion and defiance may be shifted, ostensibly at least, from propaganda per se to its methods and interpretations. These two realms are by no means easy to differentiate at all times. How difficult it may be, for instance, to distinguish aversion-to-the-propagandic-attitude from resentment-at-some-mannerism-of-abruptness-and-forwardness or from resentment-at-utilizing-personal-or-secular-interests-for-inculcating-religious-propaganda, may be seen by an illustration or two.

". . . .One who knew him well wrote in 1900:

" 'There is no doubt that Dr. Verbeck exercised great tact when forced into association with a certain class of Japanese men—the official class—who are to this day, afraid of other missionaries—afraid even now, because most of them think they must force religion upon every Japanese they meet, regardless of time, place, and circumstance. I am wrong to say "most of them"—but I am sorry to say there are some other of the———type, though he is the most notorious in reputation among the foreigners.' "[51]

Upon the use of a Biblical illustration in one of Richard's Scientific lectures, and with pointedness at that, a Chinese official was overheard saying: "He is preaching at us already."[52]

But among those who oppose propaganda as well as among those who are accustomed to various sorts of it or who profess to be tolerant of it, Christian missionaries are often objected to ostensibly because of their deprecation, slander, and mis-repre-

sentation of things non-Christian, because of their use of subtle forms of bribery and false pretence, because of the compulsion to which they owe their success, it is claimed.

Deprecation, Slander, and Misrepresentation.—It is generally conceded that Christian missionaries of early nineteenth century days especially, used the direct, oral and written arraignment of non-Christian religions as one of their means of showing the superiority and desirability of their own religion. In fact, it is the criticism of this practice by missionaries themselves which often shows the best instances of native aversion arising from it.

> Describing the procedure of polemic, slander, and sacrilege "which the novice is inclined to follow," Warneck says, quoting Rösler's comment regarding missionaries to the Shambala:
>
> "'He takes up boldly a little magic vase such as is hidden in the maize field, and shatters it. Or he meets a serpent, and sends a ball through its head, and says: Why are you stupid blacks so superstitious? . . .That earthenware vase and this dead serpent cannot harm you. Yes, yes, Bwana, is cried from all sides, we are very stupid and you are right. We do not believe in these things. It is only our medicine-men who have so trained us. But next morning these same blacks may be seen running again to the oracle with their old fear, and if they reflect at all on what the European said to them the day before, they say to themselves, "Ah, yes! it was easy for him to speak; he is a white man and himself a great magician to whom the magic of our greatest magician can do no harm." And should they once more encounter the same European, they will take good care to show him no more of their superstitions. "It will only make him deride us!'"[53]

The charges of Coomaraswamy regarding Christian polemic, quoted earlier, come from a country of esotric religious philosophy as well as of magic and ceremonial. Others from Asia are plentiful.

> "A [missionary] correspondent of experience in educational work in S. India holds that the existing apologetic literature 'is of little use.' Another urges that the 'old-fashioned' tracts should be dropped as causing some to scoff. The vernacular books are by some impeached as 'not up to date,' probably no

the ground of their attitude towards non-Christian religion, though this charge cannot lie against the books directed against Islam."[54]

The Moslem writers themselves, however, do not always agree to this, to take a point often put forward by non-Christians: "An unfair advantage is taken of the wars which the Holy Prophet (may peace and the blessings of God be upon him) was forced to undertake in self defence, and injunctions that pertain to the infidels that took up arms to destroy Islam are not only applied to all unbelievers without any distinction, but are also cruelly distorted. But the Holy Quran is so clear on the subject that anybody who will study it with an open mind will not help declaring the criticisms of the Christian missionaries to be maliciously calumnious."[55]

Michie declares that the "polemic" and ridicule carried on by missionaries in China has been of such a libellous nature that it would be illegal in the United States.[56]

The tactics of criticism and polemic, moreover, are employed by non-Christians against Christianity, it is charged.

"'An Australian who came to Burma some ten years ago and put on the yellow robe, has been especially active in circulating infidel literature in English, and he has had some of it translated into Burmese. He has been supported in this by a Buddhist Tract Society.'"[57]

A Christian critic asserts:

"Bipin Chandra Pal edited a journal, called *New India*, the settled policy of which was to publish every tale that could be found and exaggerated to fill the Indian mind with the bitterest hatred and profoundest contempt for Europeans, and to urge Indians to train themselves physically to be able to fight those blackguards."[58]

The *Dai Kokumin* for August 1916, according to a synopsis of the contents made by a missionary, includes the following:

"A Mirror that Reveals the Devil in Christianity:—

"The Mask of Hypocrisy Torn Off: The Vices of Oshikawa Katayoshi: The Apology of Iwamoto Genji: Practicers of a Convenient Morality: The Peerless Art of Making Money The Immoral and Ungrateful Fraud Morimura Ichizaemon (Mr. Morimura is a wealthy and prominent merchant who has recently become a Christian): A Specimen of the Science of Begging: The Great Hypocrite Uchimura Kanzoh: The Bless-

ings of Christianity: The Boldness and Ignorance of His Honor the Chatter-box (nick name for Mr. Shimada Saburoh, M. P., a Christian member of Parliament): The Scoundrel Tagawa:. . . . The Bacillus of the Nation: The Profitableness of 'God': Is He a Robber who Covers His Covetousness with Kisses: An Organization of Ghouls and Devils. . . ."

Moreover, non-Christian as well as Christian writers refer to failures or weaknesses of opponents as things predicted in prophecies of their own sacred writings, with the implication that these opposing forces are fundamentally and irremediably deficient.

"We have in these pages referred more than once to a prophecy of the Holy Quran which says that as a result of the Christians having strayed away from the right path, God has put in their hearts enmity and hatred against their own brethren-in-faith and that this hatred shall last to the day of Judgment (Quran v. 18). Every student of history will bear witness to the remarkable fulfilment of this prophecy and in no period of history was the truth of this prediction made more clear than in this era of Christian civilization and culture. So deep rooted is this hatred that besides displaying itself in bloody deeds, it is also being expressed in 'Songs of Hate'."[59]

But the cruder denunciation, it is charged, is frequent, if not usual.

Blunt and gross are the missionary's "vilifications" of non-Christian religions behind their backs, some claim. Among their own fellow-Christians, for the purpose of arousing them to support and promote missionary endeavor and to appreciate the work of their missionary agents, those non-Christian religions are exposed to irreverence, insinuating ridicule, vituperation—it is charged.

A prominent Christian writer has recently taken up the cudgels against the popular attitude toward Islam among Christians in the West:

". . . .Today all that we hear is the mere repitition of the phrase, 'Islam advances because it makes no moral demand.' . . . .but is it conceivable that religious commands which raise the social and general culture of a people; which abolish idolatry and human sacrifice; which diminish, if they do not abolish, the vice of drunkenness; which bring in education, and put an end

to barbarous heathen customs; exert no influence upon the inward dispositions of those who submit to them? When 'the more intelligent part of a population,' when 'even natives who have received a Christian education' are attracted to a religion, and become advocates of it, is it fair, is it even reasonable, to maintain that that religion advances because it puts no restraint upon the vices of its converts?"[60]

The non-Christian Indian writers speak somewhat more plainly upon deficiencies of Christian polemic and apologetic:

"Biship Caldwell has said, 'The stories related of Krishna's life do more than anything else to destroy the morals and corrupt the imagination of the Hindu youth': but *honi soit qui mal y pense*, . . .the stories of the Child-Krishna delight the mother-heart of every Indian woman, the love of Krishna for Radha typifies to Indian men and women that ideal love which Dante felt for Beatrice, and the love of the soul of man for God: the teachings of Krishna in the Gita, are the consolation and guide in life alike of the learned and unlearned, the 'New Testament' of Hinduism."[61]

"Hindu literature is said to be gross and impure; to those who see in sex-love merely the gratification of an animal passion, this may seem to be so, for certainly, like Shakespeare and the Old Testament, Eastern literature is not fettered by the conventions of Victorian England."[62]

Non-Christian religious journals in the East often repudiate with ridicule and vehemence the assertions in Christian books, magazines and addresses meant for missionary constituencies.

"I must take this opportunity to invite the serious attention of all sensible men and sober thinkers to the point that the Christain Missionaries are never tired of reiterating the shibboleth that Muhammadan religion offers a low standard of morality whereas Christianity presents a very lofty ideal of morality. But what to think about the unsparing use of abusive language for the sacred personality of the Holy Prophet of Islam and the free and unreserved resort to nasty names for the one true God of Islam and above all the vehement invectives for the one-third of the population of the world in which the Christian Missionary so freely indulges with zeal and zest. Are all these vituperative tendencies within the sphere of high morality?

". . . .Dr. Herrick assures us that instead of arms the Christian evangelist calls for the fraternal hand, the sympathetic heart, the persuasive voice, the winning manner and what not. What

a travesty of justice! Is it winning manner to hold up one's spiritual lord and master to scorn? Yet our critic has the hardiness to bamboozle the world into the fascinating fancy that Christianity is the most loving of religions and deals with other faiths with utmost kindness and affection. Passing over the heart-rending Billings-gate in which our critic freely indulges merely to oblige the Muslims, with the decency of his manners, I now proceed to deal with his comparison of Islam and Christianity taking each item separately." [And the writer proceeds to detailed criticism.][63]

"I have just happened to see a pamphlet containing a speech delivered by Mr. John Ferguson at a meeting of the Colombo Gleaners' Union. It is entitled 'Mohammedanism in Ceylon.' Though this subject has little to do with the Prophet's personal character, yet Mr. Ferguson thought fit to drag into his speech the personality of the Holy Prophet (peace be on him). I cannot reproduce the words used by the speaker which, in my opinion, are too indecent for a respectable journal.

"According to him our prophet grew into 'a politician heading a party and carrying fire and sword to his enemies.' This remark shows how ignorant he is of the early history of Islam. . . ." After many quotations in refutation of Mr. Ferguson, the editor continues: "From this it is clear that the accusation of wilful murder and robbery is entirely unwarranted and malicious and deserves the contempt of all sober-minded persons. Though the verses quoted above clearly show the attitude of the Muslims in their wars, yet the following event of the prophet's life will throw more light on the subject.

. . . . . .

". . . .He seems to be quite ignorant even of the words of Jesus Christ when he said, 'Think not that I came to send peace on the earth: I came not to send peace but a sword.' Read in the light of the commandment of Jesus to his followers to buy swords, these words cannot fail to lead one to the conclusion that he too like David and some other prophets, would have resorted to the sword if circumstances had been favourable."[64]

". . . .Sister Nivedita says that she has heard the following thirteen statements made and supported in a single speech; each statement had a familiar ring to the student of missionary literature. They were as follows:—

" '(1) That the Hindu social system makes a pretence of honouring women, but that this honour is more apparent than real; (2) That women in India are deliberately kept in ignorance; (3) That women in India have no place assigned to them in

heaven save through their husbands; (4) That no sacramental rite is performed over them with Vedic Texts; (5) That certain absurd old misogynist verses . . .are representative of the attitude of Hindu men to their women-folk in general; (6) That a mother's anxiety to bear sons is appalling; "her very wifehood depends on her doing so"; (8) That the infanticide of girls is a common practice in India; (9) That the Kulin Brahman marriage system is a representative fact; (10) That parents unable to marry off their daughters are in the habit of marrying them to a god (making them prostitutes) as an alternative; (11) That Hindu wedding ceremonies are unspeakably gross; (12) That the Hindu widow lives a life of such misery and insult that the burning to death may well have seemed preferable; (13) That the Hindu widow is almost always immoral.'

"Such indeed, as I judge from personal experience, is the picture which a majority of professing Christians in England have formed of the life of their Indian sisters; they are helpless prisoners awaiting their release at the hands of chivalrous Western knights! To hasten that release they unselfishly contribute both their time, their money, and their prayers. No wonder it has been said that the Nonconformist conscience is a greater obstacle in the way of India's freedom, than even Imperial greed. It would be waste of time to give the answers to these thirteen statements here; but I may, as Sister Nivedita does, classify them. Nos. 1, 3, 7, 11 and 13 are entirely false; Nos. 2, 5, and 12 are the result of misinterpreting or overstating facts; Nos. 4, 8, 9, and 10 may be true of certain limited localities, periods, or groups, yet are spoken of as representative of Hindu life as a whole. The last class is the most important; take only one example, No. 8; it is true that infanticide was at one time common amongst a certain class of Rajputs; but it is in no sense a common Indian practice, any more than, if as much as, it is a common London practice. Indeed, in almost all these cases, a terrible *tu quoque* can be alleged, —not to speak of vices peculiar to the Christian West."[65]

Implied in this charge is that of misrepresentation as a means toward successful propagandic movements both at the home base and on the field. In a caustic yet professedly tempered criticism of Christian missions, Ananda K. Coomeraswamy proceeds:

"I speak now of missionary misrepresentations. There is no part of the Christian code of ethics more consistantly ignored in missionary circles, than the commandment, 'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.'

. . . . . .

"Those who wish to understand the process should study missionary literature, attend meetings, or read what missionaries say of those who see India in a different way.

". . . .A typical volume is Miss Carmichael's *Things as they are in Southern India*. . . . .No volume could be a more impressive monument of the unfitness of the ordinary missionary to concern himself with the 'civilization' of India. When in another man's heart you can see only blackness, the fault is likely to be your own; when in another civilization you can see only unutterable vileness, it means that you have not understood the parable of the mote and the beam. The method of such a book is simplicity itself: ignore the presence of virtues in non-Christian, and of vices in Christian, communities; describe all individual and local instances of evil known to you in a heathen society as typical; add violence of language and morbid religious sentiment, suggest all that you do not say, and the volume is completed. . . . . .

"I take an even more serious example of very special pleading, from a more widely-read volume *Lux Christi*, published for the Central Committee of the United Study of Missions. This book in 1903, the date of my copy, and the year after first publication, had already been reprinted seven times. Here we read (p. 211):

" 'It should be borne in mind that the mighty systems of paganism in India, whether Hindu, Buddhist, or Muhammadan, are alike destitute of all those fruits of Christianity which we term charitable, philanthropic, benevolent. Where are the hospitals, dispensaries, orphanages, asylums for the leper, the blind, the deaf and the mute? They have no place in the heathen economy.'

"Such a statement hardly needs refutation; but since there must be persons able to believe it, let me answer. . . . .

. . . . . .

"The author of *Holy Himalaya*, a missionary book of the worst type, writes:

" 'Hinduism has no system of moral teaching, with definite sanctions or adequate basis.'

"It would be cruel to continue making quotations which illustrate the 'constitutional inability to realize the spiritual life of any other people.' Suffice it to say that those who suffer from it are not fitted to educate the Indian people, and it is questionable whether we do well to permit them to do so."[66]

Customs, ceremonial rites, traditional lore, and sacred deities—their civilizations and culture—,such defenders claim, are repre-

sented to the Christian world in a way that is one-sided, misleading, false, vicious.

Seducing with Bribery and False Pretense.—The more active methods of group propaganda come in for as severe censure as mis-representative interpretations due to biased sectarian outlook. It is charged: Our ignorant are inveigled, our children are decoyed, and a network of "personal influences" are thrown around our promising leaders—all deliberately. We are poor and want education—you bribe us with it. You lay out a campaign with enormous expenditure to "capture the childhood" of our people and then defy our faith.

"The use of physical force is now indeed rejected: but all that money, social influence, educational bribery and misrepesentationr can effect, is treated as legitimate. With all this is often combined great devotion and sincerity of purpose; the combination is dangerous in the extreme.

. . . . . .

"The most subtle, and in a certain sense, I suppose, effective, proselytizing agency in India is the Mission School. When adult conversion was found to proceed too slowly, it was decided to reach the Children; hence the education bribe. The magic word itself stills opposition and enquiry; everyone is convinced that India needs educating,—it would be intolerant to deny to Christians a right to share in this noble work, impertinent to doubt their capacity. A deliberate effort is being made to 'keep the education of girls predominantly in Christian hands for perhaps a generation,' as it is thought that 'Upon the character and extent of the education provided for girls during the next few years will depend the spread of the Christian faith amongst all the higher castes of India.' [Footnote:—] *The East and the West*, 1908, p. 104.)

"The education is undertaken with an ulterior motive, that of the conversion. The first qualification of a teacher is therefore good sectarian Christianity; but for educational problems,—in these it is only necessary that she should be interested as a means to an end. . . .

. . . . . .

"English education is now desired by many; that which purports to be this thing is offered at low rates in missionary schools.

"India is poor. The average income of individuals is estimated at from 1½d. (official) to ¾d. (Mr. Digby) per head per diem

. . .for those who desire 'English education' for girls, it is still generally a case of the mission school, or nothing. The mission school is subsidised by the contributions of the supporters of missions all over the world, and can afford to offer the 'English education' at less than cost price. The bribe is then accepted. Not till India refuses to be thus pauperised by those whose aim is the destruction of her faiths, can she be free.

. . . . . .

". . . .I think of one such, a learned Hindu, a Cambridge graduate, who has travelled with his wife in Europe, and is intellectually the superior of all his associates in the Civil Service. There is as yet no Hindu school for girls where modern education is available; he does not wish to send them far away to Mysore or to England; and so he too sends his daughters as they grow up, one by one, to the C. M. S. Ladies' College, where they are duly prepared for the Cambridge Locals, taught Christian dogma, French, fancy work and the piano, besides the English mathematics and other subjects of value for which they really go. Out of school he has to arrange for their instruction in their own mother-tongue, in Indian music and literature. It will be seen that time thus already over-filled, is too much occupied for the Sanskrit he would like to have them learn. In this particular case the strength of home ties and of religious feeling render the possibility of conversion quite remote; but how far removed is the education offered by the would-be proselytizers, from that which would be of real value."[67]

"Whatever progress they have made is not due to any truth in the Bible itself but has been achieved by many unfair means. Some have been tempted by long purses. To others fondness for education has been an active motive. Some, again, have been attracted by fair women. And there are others who, as we see, have been made to labour under a great misunderstanding. To them it has been said that their religion is nothing but a branch of Christianity and that their leaders' names are but synonymous with that of Christ. Sweepers of India, for example, have been told that the founder of their religion was only an incarnation of Christ."[68]

"Alarmed by the rapid progress of Mohamedanism which is far outstripping Christianity in Africa and some parts of Asia, the Continuation Committee on Mohamedan lands of the World's Sunday School Convention held at Zurich last summer has undertaken to make a religious and social survey of the Moslem World

. . . . . .

"To capture the Mohamedan world by capturing the childhood is the ultimate project for which the survey will be a preparation."[69]

Illegality and Compulsion.—You even break with impunity the laws against inflammatory speech in your incriminations, accuse Christianity's opponents. By special pressure you subvert our laws. By open force you hold your right to wage your campaign.

". . . .The recent conference at Kikuyu was a notable event, as it sought to band together the various Christian Missions in Africa into the common resolve to adopt a uniform policy and mobilize their forces in the face of 'the common enemy' and this resolve was consecrated by a remarkable ritual in which clergymen of various persuasions received the Holy Communion from the Bishop Mombasa. . . .As long as the ring has been kept fairly and missionary efforts have displayed no militant and aggressive zeal, the peoples of the East have never gone out of their way to thwart Christianity in its battling with rival creeds. But the Christian missionary has on occasions not despised other weapons when his straightforward spiritual appeals have failed. A new change would now seem to be coming over the spirit of the dream, mainly as a result of the failure of Christian preaching in Central Africa. The tone is becoming more aggressive, and the challenge of the Christian missionary rings with furious cries today. The breath of the missionary world is hot with irrepressible anger at Islam and the rapid advance it is making amongst the heathen tribes. As a sample of the worst passions of jealousy and religious hate we may take the following extract from an article by Mr. Norman Maclean which appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* and which was reproduced by the *Pioneer* in its issue of 7th instant. The writer after referring to the evils which evoked the Kikuyu conference goes on to say that the great peril in Africa is the peril of the conquering Islam. . . .'Is the whole of Africa to fall under the sway of a religion *whose God is an Oriental tyrant without love or fatherhood, which degrades womanhood, and which fanaticises the people which fall under its sway*?. . . .' The lines that we have italicised afford a glimpse into the spirit of the faith that moves this canting Christian. We would not presume to vindicate the God of Islam, nor need we explain the position that it assigns to women and the message it has delivered to mankind. It is not our business to track down every pharisee masquerading as the messenger of light, or put down religious fire-brands. What we would like to

point out is that writings of such inflammatory character should be reproduced by papers like the *Pioneer* in India without being called to book under the Press Act. We need hardly say what effect such vulgar attacks on Islam may in all likelihood have on the Mussalmans. When we remember the fate that has been meted out to purely religious journals like *Ahl-Hadis* of Amritsar and the *Badr* of Qadian, because they had written something of Christianity with the sole object of refuting the false charges brought against Islam, we cannot but be astonished to see the latitude that certain class of newspapers in this country are permitted to enjoy. We cannot think of any reasonable ground in view of which the *Pioneer's* latest effort to bring into hatred and contempt an important section His Majesty's subjects in India should not be dealt with as it deserves."[70]

"Missionaries in the last resort rely on force. This is notoriously so in China. 'Force,' says Lafcadio Hearn (quoted *Modern Review*, III, 234), 'the principal instrument of Christian propagandism in the past, is still the force behind our missions. . . .We force missionaries upon China, for example, under treaty clauses extorted by war, and pledge ourselves to support them with gunboats and to exact enormous penalties for the lives of such as get themselves killed.' It would be the same in India, did not Hindu tolerance (apart from 'India held by the sword') make it needless; but even Hindu tolerance may some day be overstrained. If it be intolerance to force one's way into the house of another, it by no means necessarily follows that it would be intolerance on the owner's part to drive out the intruder."[71]

"Now the purchase of land and the establishment of foreign missions in these establishments, especially if they are founded in the face of opposition from the local authorities, naturally suggest the idea of a foreign domination. The very permanence of the buildings suggests the permanence of the foreign element. . . .In China, particularly, the common idea prevelent among the people is that to become a Christian involves submission to foreign domination."[72]

" 'Such forcing, based on treaty rights, maintained by much disagreable correspondence between foreign consuls and Chinese high mandarins, has done a great deal to shut up the hearts of the people against the Gospel.' "[73]

6. SUMMARY OF PROFESSED CAUSES AND OCCASIONS OF NON-APPROVING BEHAVIOR

We have now gone over the outstanding types of statement verbal reaction) which accompany non-approval of Protestant missions. These statements have to be dealt with as one aspect of non-Christian reactions to Christian propaganda. They are

significant both for what actual truth they contain and for what they pretend to be. As long as the question of evaluating testimony on disputed matters not yet verified, has not been satisfactorily worked out by students of human behavior, it seemed most feasible to follow this course of procedure: first, to throw into perspective the different kinds of non-approving reaction to the cultural invasion before us (Chapter I); second, to show the inadequacy of certain popular solutions emphasized by these categories, and third, to link up this data with the previous discussion of group organization (Chapter IV); and fourth, to arrange the verbal data itself in such popular sociological categories as might demonstrate its significance (Chapters V and VI). This we regarded as as a mode of procedure which would prepare the reader to check up on further criticism and valuation of this testimony, and which would show whether more thoroughgoing hypotheses should be employed for analizing the causes of different reactions to Christian propaganda.

The more or less theoritical orientation (Chapter IV) only touched a few salient points:—The sweeping assumptions of Oriental tolerance at one extreme and of race antipathy at the other are altogether too unverified to be used: they involve prejudging the data. Moreover, even the conceptions of inertia and of aversion-to-innovation can hardly be applied to social situation withouts a knowledge, on the one hand, of the biological condition of the people concerned and, on the other hand, of their group organization and of their contacts with other means of satisfying their wants. By taking cognizance of intra-group fortification as well as overt opposition, by using clues from extreme types, and by avoiding categories which prevent a bona fide comparative treatment, there seemed to be hope of getting definite aid from examining partisan data at its face value.

The immense field of verbal retort and explanation was taken up as the one where reasons for non-approval naturally emerge. (1) The issues themselves include the sharply defined *Differences in Mores* regarding food and drink, polygamy, ceremonial and social obligations demanded by family and caste and

nation, specific doctrinal beliefs, and even certain generalized traits and norms advocated by Christianity; they include the ensemble of religious differences and sheer supernaturalism itself; they embrace the enveloping sense of alien-ness and the implications of exclusiveness connected with the different traits or sets of clashing mores; they refer to the still more intangible aversion to non-legalistic, historical, and other "forms" in which the innovating mores are envisaged. (2) The pendulum of substantial *Group Attitudes* of disapproval seems to swing from one crystalized in traditional Moslem communities (also Jewish and Roman Catholic), testimony indicates, to one more spontaneously aroused in the midst of nationalistic enthusiasm; between these two extremes there might be ranged "more permanent" resentments and non-approving attitudes by the various groups in the propagandic impact. (3) Christian writers, with a prominent exception or two, seem to sense but vaguely the significance of *Social Organization* (better, group organization) as a factor in aversion to Christianity, although, along with non-Christian literature, missionary writings provide concrete data upon it. (4) Professional interest in maintaining non-Christian religions is charged against their priests who oppose missions; the preservation of political, economic, and social position or the enhancement of it, is charged as the motive of other opponents; and the missionary's *Vested Interests* in Christianity and its promotion, are said to be at the root of a number of evaluations and attitudes which provoke aversion to missions. (5) Not only propaganda and the subtler attitudes and opinions conducive to it, therefore, are fixed by professional and vested interests, but also certain *evaluations and methods employed in the propaganda* which become objects of resentment and opposition: depreciation, slander, and misrepresentation are responsible for some of the support from home constituencies, non-Christians assert, and Christians make certain accusations of the same sort against non-Christian leaders: missionaries seduce their victims by bribery and false pretence, it is said; they also use illegal means, and ultimately they rely upon the arm of force.

Such is the range of professed causes and occasions of non-approval, registered in the statements of Christian and non-Christian. Our next task is an estimate of their validity as explanations, and of their value as data for interpreting the speakers' and writers' psychology.

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31. American informant, y-2, 1919.
32. *The Far East*, XX (December 18, 1920), 283, 290.
33. Coomaraswamy, 153.
34. Rutnam, 112.
35. Cary, (A), II, 95, from a Japanese pamphlet, "A New Essay on the Protection of the Country," circulated in 1868.
36. "Christian Parallels in Other Creeds," *Review of Religions* (hereafter *R. of Rel.*), XIII (1914) 337-338.
37. *W. M. C.*, II, 247.
38. "God in Islam," *R. of Rel.*, XIII (1914), 161.
39. Yehya-en-nasr Parkinson, "Christian Propaganda, A Study in Morals," *R. of Rel.*, XII (1913), 257-259.
40. "Is Christianity the Author of Civilizations?" *R. of Rel.*, XIII (1914), 310-311.
41. "The Status of Woman in Christianity," *R. of Rel.*, XIV (1915), 32.
42. Cary, (A), II, 91.
43. *Loc. cit.*
44. Coomaraswamy, 138.

45. *Ibid.*, 144.
46. *Ibid.*, 144-145.
47. *Ibid.*, 132.
48. Farquhar, 371, quoting from the *Arya Messenger*.
49. *W. M. C.*, I, 17.
50. "The Comrade: Crusade against Islam Planned," *R. of Rel.*, XIII (1914), 117.
51. Griffis, 331-332.
52. Richard, 162.
53. Warneck, 205.
54. *W. M. C.*, III, 351.
55. "The Holy Quran and the Unbelievers," *R. of. Rel.*, XIII (1914), 251.
56. Michie, 129, ff.
57. *W. M. C.*, II, 247-248.
58. Farquhar, 359-360.
59. "Germany's Hatred against her Christian Neighbors," *R. of Rel.*, XIV (1915), 98.
60. Allen, "Islam and Christianity in the Sudan," *I. R. M.*, IX (1920), 537.
61. Coomaraswamy, 151.
62. *Ibid.*, 150.
63. "Islam versus Christianity, A Review of Dr. Herrick's *Christian and Muhammadan*," in *R. of Rel.*, XII (1913), 372-373.
64. Mirza Bashir Ahmad, "A Ceylon Missionary's Attack on Our Holy Prophet," *R. of Rel.*, XIII (1914), 350-352.
65. Coomaraswamy, 148-150.
66. *Ibid.*, 144-152.
67. *Ibid.*, 136- 43.
68. Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, "Which is the Religion of Compromise, Islam or Christianity?" *R. of Rel.*, XII (1913), 280-281.
69. "Crusade Against Islam Planned," *R. of Rel.*, XIII (1914), 117-118.
70. "Christianity versus Islam," quoted from *The Comrade* in *R. of Rel.*, XIII (1914), 114-117.
71. Coomaraswamy, footnote on page 136
72. Allen, 78-79.
73. Michie, quoting the missionary Faber in a footnote to p. 170.

CHAPTER VII

EXAMINATION OF ACTUAL CAUSES—AND SELF-PROTECTION AS A TYPICAL MOTIVE

(An Interpretation of the Professed Causes of Non-approval from the Standpoint of Bio-psychological Urges)

Let us get our bearings. We first noticed different types of reaction to Christian propaganda (Chapter I). Group influences were seen to affect them (Chapter II). An element of impulsiveness in some of the reactions permitted us to put these aside as initial and temporary (Chapter III). The more permanent responses, however, were more various and elaborate: they required division into those of disapproval or rejection and those of approval or acceptance. Before the first type could be taken up in detail, it seemed best to dispose of certain vague notions of race antagonism, tolerance, etc., which might create misunderstanding (Chapter IV). The testimony on non-approval was now presented under popular sociological categories suggested by propagandists' and non-approvers' analyses of them (Chapters V, VI). But the pursuit of this natural order of investigation, while familiarizing us with data available and with certain conditioning factors, at the same time shifts the point of view continually:* it thus demonstrates the necessity for a more systematic mode of approach than that provided by assorting testimony (including rationalizations†) in accordance with popular sociological procedure, even though this procedure by itself may be quite inductive.

1. INADEQUACY OF POPULAR EXPLANATIONS OF REJECTION: OBSCURING CAUSE-AND-EFFECT SEQUENCES AND VITAL MOTIVATIONS

[The line of thought which laid bare the shifting of viewpoint from one factor to another in any given cause-and-effect sequence, is given in detail in Appendix II and should be ex-

*See the first two pages of Appendix II.
†See Appendix II.

amined *at this point* along with Appendix I, by all readers interested in the theoretical development and premises of the following chapters. Certain psychological processes which make it difficult to identify cause and effect in our records of human individual and group behavior, are considered—e.g., rationalizations, substitution of new stimuli for old, predetermination of responses through selective innate tendencies. And, optional methods of description, analysis, and interpretation are discussed briefly with reasons for utilizing inherent biological-psychological "urges."]

It may be said by way of general summary that the unsatisfactoriness of dealing with the plausible reasons (rationalizations) for rejecting Christianity as we have done, is due to the failure to disentangle cause-and-effect sequences. The biologist and psychologist would say it is due to confusing the different factors in the "stimulus-response situation." One of the familiar instances is *the confusing of the object of a counter-attack with the stimulus provoking that counter-attack.* An illustration or two must suffice here.

Suppose we have up for consideration a Moslem's claim that he cannot accept Christianity first, because the Christian doctrine of a "triune God" is unbelievable and second, because the Christian's Bible implicitly sanctions the drinking of wine. This means, accurately speaking, that there is a response which, (i), in reference to certain outside parties in juxtaposition to it, is non-approving and which, (ii), as such, is *merely centering its reply* upon these two particular items. But that is a very different matter from asserting that these two objects of counter-attack are the original provocatives. The probability is that they are merely rationalizations (possibly, issues raised facetiously) by an already antagonistic opponent; that they are put forward with the more or less conscious hope that they may produce a certain effect upon the innovators or upon himself; and that this desired effect is the isolation of himself from them! If the Moslem group were already antagonistic, owing to some more comprehensive or more obscure reasons, *it is incorrect and*

misleading to credit the points of attack—in this case a belief and a practice—*with being the original stimuli.* If an enraged dog snaps at a man's foot or coat tail, it is certainly no guarantee that either object provoked him originally.

Rage, no matter how aroused, may strike back in ways that obscure rather than disclose the source and operation of the initial irritant.

> "Sad to say, dear Gordon was tomahawked by a superstitious Native, who regarded him as bringing disease amongst them, though they were indebted to a Trading Vessel for that. . . . And that noble fellow, who we knew and loved, has been cut down in his prime."[1]

The *individual* is here aroused to action. Incidents provoking *groups* to religious fanaticism often illustrate the same principle.

> "In 1890. . . .A Bengali girl, named Phulmani Dasi, eleven years of age, died in Calcutta in consequence of what in all other civilized countries would be described as an outrage on the part of her husband, who was a man of thirty. He was arrested and tried for culpable homicide. The only defence he made was to quote the clause in the Penal Code which fixed the age of ten years as the lowest limit for married life. Yet he was convicted, and sentenced to twelve months' rigorous imprisonment. The consequence was a loud outcry from the orthodox community. They complained that it was utterly unjust to punish a man for doing what was prescribed by his religion and distinctly permitted by law.
>
> "The case caused great indignation in Christian circles. Europeans demanded, in the words of Max Muller, 'that the strong arm of the English law be not rendered infamous by aiding and abetting unnatural atrocities.' There was a loud cry that the age should be raised, and that the penalty should be increased. The Government of India therefore introduced a bill into the Legislative Council, raising the age from ten to twelve.
>
> "The Bill roused the most violent opposition amongst Hindus. The following sentences give some idea of the excitement and fury raised by the proposal:
>
> " 'Never before, within living memory, had Bengal been so agitated. Crowds of excited Hindus paraded the streets all day and far into the night, yelling at the pitch of their voices, "Our

religion is in danger". . . .A monster meeting of protest was held on the *maidan*, for no public building in Calcutta would accommodate all those who wished to be present. The attendance was estimated at one hundred thousand, and speeches were delivered from twelve platforms. . . .No such public demonstration had ever been seen in Calcutta. . . .A *mahapuja*, or whole day of fasting, prayer and sacrifice was proclaimed at Kalighat, the great shrine of this popular deity, in one of the suburbs of Calcutta. . . .It was estimated at the time that two hundred thousand rupees (over £13,000) were spent on the ceremony. . . .One devotee wished to sacrifice himself upon the altar, and was with difficulty restrained from his purpose. Others, like the priests of Baal, cut themselves with knives.' But the Government passed the Bill in spite of all protests. The date was 1891."[2]

The sparring between Christian and non-Christian, found almost anywhere, is likely to be carried on upon a plane clear above the cause of original provocation.

". . . .on one or two occasions I was greatly offended by the conduct of my missionary teachers. I wrote a short essay in favor of one of the Hindu fast days as a school exercise, which met with the strong disapproval of the missionary who examined it. This greatly pained me. The same gentleman, on another occasion, reprimanded a boy for coming to school dressed in the filthy garments worn on the occasion of the Holi festival (The Holi was originally, in all probability, a spring festival—a season of rejoicing at the revived life of nature. The observances have degenerated into extreme license.—Edit.) and this, too, I felt very deeply. Once I saw a tract on Logic, published by the American Missionaries of Bombay, in which every syllogism given by way of illustration contained something opposed to the principles of Hinduism; and I was so angry at the condemnation of my religion that I wrote on one of the pages some severe strictures on the Christian religion, which I had found in an infidel publication that was issued by educated Hindus."[3]

Obviously, then, no immediate object of response and no technique employed in responding (rationalizations included), can be regarded as the provocative stimulus, without a detailed knowledge of the situation in question. Annoyed by repeated solicitations to attend a Christian chapel service, a Moslem or a Confucian scholar may say in scorn, "You people claim to

have a monopoly of the truth!" In so doing, he, an already irritated individual, may be merely catching at an obvious means of expressing exasperation without much thought as to the fact and logic of his counter-charge. (Sometimes, of course, the rejectors do not seem to employ reasons [verbal issues] referring to any exterior objects: apprehension, whether vague or specific, may expend its energy in activity and reform within the group in the hope of insuring insulation from the propaganda—this we noticed strikingly in the illustrations of "Passive Opposition.") In short, the assumption that the issues raised as apparent causes of non-approval, represent the original stimuli that led to rejection is liable to be unwarranted in even the more plausible cases: instead, the precise casual sequences must be laid bare.*

The case for supplanting the procedure of Chapters V and VI with an analysis from the standpoint of man's innate urges, or, tendencies-to-respond,† was commenced in Chapter III. There a knowledge of the ways in which every organism tends to act, was found valuable for preventing explanations by some

*But why, the reader may ask, did the preceding two chapters employ rationalizations and other data in ways that kept shifting the point of view and obscuring stimulus-response sequences? In the first place, a great mass of the so-called sociology of today offers just such modes of analysis supplemented by a few favorable statistics. In the second place, the shortcomings of such procedure will be realized only when it is adequately illustrated, criticized, and placed alongside a procedure that has a more logical basis. In the third place, we frankly confess that the arranging of data in accordance with more fundamental bio-psychological sequences [see Appendix II, section 2], impresses itself upon us as practicable and imperative only after the more popular sociological procedure has been followed as a means of getting the data before us: for then it is that the fundamentally "protective" nature of many non-Christian reactions, as shown in this chapter, appear so vital and so (psychologically) logical that it calls for recognition—and we are not sure but that these two methods are quite necessary at this stage of investigation. In the fourth place, our entire study is avowedly tentative, as explained in the Introduction and in Appendix I: it aims to present typical available data, in outline form, with suggestions for interpretation, so as to provide perspective and hints for more specialized and exact studies of first-hand phenomena: and as such it aims to offer different modes of analysis alongside of one another as these seem called or by the results attained.

The above four points indicate that the general reader has been taken into the author's confidence. This has been done with the hope that the general reader will see the importance of more and more actual research along such psycho-sociological lines as the present one. For apparently it is the failure of the general reader and the ordinary educated man to appreciate the importance of it that has made the demand so meager.

†On this point, again, turn to Appendices I and II for more extended consideration.

single principle. Note its use now in weighing critically a supposed unfavorable response to alienness-of-the-propagandist's-mores, suggested by certain witnesses. Let us assume that on the surface there is abundant evidence that prolonged and fairly permanent responses to the foreign-ness of Christian innovations, do take place. It does seem abundant in cases of persisting fanatical violence and legal prohibition, rooted, as they are, in the nurture of tradition and code. It is abundant in some aspects of behavior in practically every advanced culture group. Invective has been hurled against "foreign" Christianity throughout the Orient, as we indicated in the last Chapter. However, our knowledge of contrary tendencies* prevents our jumping to hasty conclusions. It makes us realize that we must watch for related and antithetical materials. And they do appear. For instance, the fact comes to hand that vitriolic incriminations of the West frequently come from natives wearing Western clothes, eating with Western utensils, depending in their mode of life upon a myriad of modern Western industries, and even indebted to Western philosophy and art in other phases of their lives! The fact that these things are Western does not debar them from use. In India and the East this is common knowledge. As the Indian Christian, K. T. Paul, asserts, changes in some aspects of culture do not necessarily imply changes in others.

> "Changes of dress or manner do often indicate the evil. But there are many in European garb and dining at tables who are Indian in every fibre of their being."[4]

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*Now it may be true, as it was said in the analysis of initial reactions (Chapter III), that there is an almost universal tendency-to-respond with withdrawal, wariness, antagonism, or at least deprecation in the presence of the unfamiliar *if* if appears to be dangerous—but there is also a bio-psychological tendency to approach, to observe, to be curious about, and, under certain conditions, to manipulate the strange. The knowledge of both tendencies prevents complete capitulation to either. Furthermore, as Ogburn, Boas, Thomas, and others explain, there is undoubtedly an "inertia," an aversion to change, an antipathy towards innovations which presume to be superior to contemporary mores—but the younger generation not yet habituated to dependence on current mores, and maturer individuals who are either unadjusted to their milieu or are of a certain temperament, may allow dominance to opposite bio-psychological tendencies which are a part of all men's original endowment. Knowing both tendencies, again, one becomes wary of explanations which exclude the possibilities of either.

Under certain circumstances, it seems, hesitation at alien-ness in any idea, in any practice, or in any tool, is soon overcome. Even in the case of such a plausible reason for non-approval as the alien-ness of the mores, therefore, a knowledge of the various ways in which the human tends to respond under different circumstances, aids us in seeing that this issue raised, this object of counter-attack, may not be the original stimulus to non-approval at all: it may be merely a temporary "conditioning factor"! That is, hasty incorrect conclusions are less likely when man's urges are known.

Now it seems reasonable that any explanation of individual and group behavior will sometime or other have to be squared with bio-psychological tendencies-to-respond—it is futile to deny that there is a sex appetite, a positive need of bodily and mental activity, protective tendencies, a tendency to be affected by the attitude of other people toward one, etc; and it is futile to deny that these operate as causes that must be reckoned with in any analysis of behavior. Hence, it is our contention that until scientific measurements are taken of non-Christian reactions to Christianity (so far as they can be), those reactions which plainly appear as effects of outstanding bio-psychological urges, may well be analyzed as such. (Such cause-and-effect sequences may provide the backbone, so to speak, upon which may be arranged the attendant circumstances and partial causes which constitute the various conditioning factors.) This will be demonstrated at length in Chapters IX and X; but it can be illustrated in brief by examining a striking impression regarding the whole range of non-approving reactions. To wit, one thing seems to stand out on the very surface of their data: non-approval itself, with the range of defense activities and counter-attack we have seen, is largely the "self-protective" type of response in its general manifestations. That impression provides us with a good opportunity to make a test of the use of one of the innate "urges." We shall therefore approach non-approving responses from this angle: we shall consider in some detail the data already presented in Chapters V and VI, from the point of view of any self-protective function it may have. Whether or not our interpretation

of each illustration is correct, is not the main issue now: we must go far enough to decide whether it furnishes clues to worth while perspectives, problems, and analyses.

2. REJECTORS' EXPLANATIONS IN THE LIGHT OF THE SELF-PROTECTIVE URGE

The proposition we wish to test out tentatively, then, is, how far indifference and opposition as disclosed in the reasons advanced, first, by the rejectors of Christian propaganda, later, by the promoters, constitute self-protective behavior.*

Let us take as an illustration more or less at random, the following missionary account of certain rejectors' explanations:

> "In China . . .work is the chief thing in life, and there is no such thing as Sunday, except once in a twelvemonth. . . . Consequently, on a man becoming a Christian, in a great many cases, especially in the towns, he immediately loses one day's pay in seven. In order to keep the job and make ends meet, some of the very poor Christians have to live very frugally on the Sabbath, a few even know what it is to fast on that day. This loss of a seventh of a man's income naturally impairs very seriously his giving powers.
>
> "There is no doubt that many do not join us through fear of the Sabbath [i.e., because they would not get wages one day in seven]. . . .
>
> "Sabbath observance is especially difficult for the shop-keeping class and their servants, and it is always important for the missionary to bear in mind that 'the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath.' Nevertheless, not a few of our people have felt the value of the day of rest sufficiently to prefer losing their situations rather than forfeit the opportunity for spiritual exercise."[5]

If this diagnosis is correct, certain poor Chinese reject missionary Christianity (make a *self-protective* response of non-approval) because they are not willing to be deprived of means for satisfying their bodily appetites. That this diagnosis is correct in some cases and will be borne out by further data, we are confident from our general knowledge of these people and of the dominance of the economic among their various interests.

*That is, to use the more complete phraseology suggested in Appendix II, how far they constitute a technique with out-reference of avoidance, of defense, of competition, of counter-attack, and by that very fact a technique with an in-reference (self-reference) of self-vidication, of self-preservation, or of self-rehabilition; and, how far the stimulus to these responses is either the fact or the possibility of interference, deprivation, or attack.

On a quite different level is the fear of losing the respect and good will of the group, so essential to men in fixed communities where nonconformity is intolerable.

> A youth ready to accept Christianity but not yet baptized, is standing out against certain Hindu ceremonies. Bringing the matter to a test, his father demands, "Tonight there is the ceremony at the temple; and you must come with me, for if you do not, I shall feel disgraced. We must submit to the demands of society."[6]

The father's keen disapproval of the Christian influences so far as this record discloses it, is unmistakably self-protective.

Sometimes there is interference with one's influence, control, and power as well as with the recognition and esteem he is receiving or is due to receive.

> The Manchu ruler of China, "K'ang Hsi, was at first liberal in his policy towards the Jesuit Missionaries, who, in consequence of the Imperial favor, met with much success in their propaganda. In the Provinces of Kiangsi, Kiangsu, and Anhwei they had built one hundred churches, and had enrolled 100,000 converts.
>
> "When the Dominicans and Franciscans reached China, many disputes arose between them and the Jesuits as to the terminology to be employed in translating the word God, and as to the permissibility of ancestral worship, which up to this time had been sanctioned by the Jesuits. An appeal was made to the Pope to settle the points at issue, and he pronounced a judgment unfavourable to the Jesuits, forbidding ancestral worship and the use of the terms T'ien and Shang Ti for the name of God, and commanding that the term T'ien Chu (Heavenly Lord) should be adopted instead.
>
> "The Emperor was highly incensed at an appeal for the settlement of the dispute being carried to a court outside the Empire, and especially so as the decision given was contrary to his own opinions. He accordingly issued a decree forbidding Missionaries to remain in China without special permission from himself. He allowed a few to reside in Peking, but ordered all who continued to live secretly in the interior after the promulgation of his decree to be severely punished."[7]

Here then we have cases where possible or actual deprivation evidently acts as a stimulus upon *individuals* to set off responses: in one case, responses of avoidance of the church; in another, of

opposition to a son's partiality toward Christianity; in a third, of curtailment of the activities of missionaries. Now such cases as these seem quite easily interpreted *if* the records are correct—they should be much more complete to avoid error in judgments. The cases which are more likely to be misunderstood are those where *group* pressure, group feeling, group opinion are definitely exerted against the propagandists. We shall therefore take up group non-approval at more length.

A Turkish or Hindu community rioting at the announcement that one of their fellow-citizens has become a Christian, the Government of Madagascar forbidding the continuance of successful Christian propaganda, Hindus and Moslems initiating missionary effort to offset Christians' accusations and to win more adherents on the very path of the Christian workers—these types of counter-attack illustrated in the discussion of "Group Attitudes" and other aspects of non-approval, are patently self-protective and at the same time aggressive and egoistic.*

Vested interests, as we have seen, will naturally fight to hold their power; in the same way, each of the larger groups of which these vested interests are a part, seems more or less united in its attitude if it realizes that its position is threatened and that it may thereby be the loser. Self-defense is the first object, we are told, of the Indian Somajes, the Moslem reform organizations, the orthodox Hindu movement, the orthodox Mohammedan movement, the caste movements, the sectarian movements—even when they oppose one another. This will become evident if the reader will glance back over the data thus far presented upon these movements.

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*That is, they develop in connection with group reactions having a self-reference of counter-self-maintenance. However, they represent overt discharges in response to stimuli, with apparently two functions: first, a self-protective reaction suffused with fear and anger, the outer reference of which is meant to discourage, cripple or put an end to the irritating stimulation; second, a response of expressiveness (self-assertion and attempt-at-mastery), and of self-regard, the outer reference of which is meant to compel the provoking parties at least to take a submissive and inferior attitude. It would be well to bear in mind that in certain situations, fear might so dominate anger and the assertive tendencies, that no overt counter-attack would result.

"The most prominent characteristic of the long series of religious movements we have dealt with is *the steady advance of the ancient faiths.* The earlier organizations were very radical indeed in the treatment they proposed for the troubles of the time, and adopted great masses of Christian thought and practice. But as the years passed, men found courage to *defend an ever larger amount of the old theology, until a number undertook to prove every scrap of the ancient structure good.* Hinduism, Islam, Buddhism, Jainism and Zoroastrianism each leaped up into new vigorous activity, every prominent sect experiencing a mysterious awakening. Finally, under the impulse of national feeling, the tables were completely turned: not only the religions but everything Oriental was glorified as spiritual and ennobling, while everything Western received condemnation as hideously materialistic and degrading. An immense quantity of literature pours from the press, and considerable sums of money are subscribed *for defence purposes, above all for sectarian education.*

"*Hence* the Hindu, the Jain, the Buddhist, the Parsee and the Muslim are today filled with *overflowing confidence* each in his own religion; a confidence which tends to be hostile to spiritual life as well as to a reasonable estimate of the old faiths. Many a man has a *pride* in his tone, and shows an *arrogance* towards outsiders, which are scarcely characteristic of health, whether religious or intellectual. *The Modern Review*, perhaps the best and most representative of the monthlies at present, frequently contains a good deal of bombast; the youthful graduates who speak and write on Hinduism have usually far too much of Vivekananda's swagger about them. Hundreds of men of the student class, under Dayananda's influence, believe that the ancient Hindus were as far advanced in the natural sciences as modern Europeans are, and that they had invented not only firearms and locomotives but telegraphs and aeroplanes as well." [Italics ours, except first and last.][8]

What each defends varies slightly from group to group, but all claim to be bent on preserving what they regard as the essentials of their own group heritage,—i.e., on preserving their very selves, as groups.

Since various self-defense movements were well crystalized in India sometime ago, accounts from there make apt illustrations:—

Of the position taken by Dayanand, the founder of the Arya Somaj, Dr. Griswold says:

"Pandit Dayanand Sarasvati became finally emancipated from the authority of Brahmanism in some such way as Luther became emancipated from the authority of the Church of Rome. Luther appealed from the Roman Church and the authority of tradition to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. Pandit Dayanand Sarasvati appealed from the Brahmanical Church and the authority of *Smriti* to the earliest and most Sacred of Indian Scriptures. The watchword of Luther was 'Back to the Bible'; the watchword of Pandit Dayanand was 'Back to the Vedas.' "[9]

Dayanand's own biographer says:

". . . .Suffice to say that his stupendous efforts to bring the demon of superstition down to the ground, to apply the axe to the root of hypocrisy, and to propagate the most beneficial doctrines of the Holy Vedas, were crowned with the most remarkable and brilliant success, ever achieved by the enthusiasm and self-sacrificing zeal of any religious reformer. What contributed to his wonderful success was his indissolable alliance with the invincible force of truth. His victory over all kinds of paganism is marked all over the country by the establishment of a religious society, called the Arya Somaj, which is, as it were, the monument of Vedic triumph, erected by the popular recognition of truth and the sense of public good in commemoration of his restoring the Vedic religion to the modern world."[10]

Of Ramakrishna and the neo-Hindu movement, Farquhar reports:

"In 1872 Raj Narayan Bose, one of the leaders of the Adi Brahma Samaj, delivered a lecture on 'The Superiority of Hinduism over all other Forms of Faith,' which attracted a good deal of attention. The very next year, the idea of the equality of all religions, which has become so closely associated these last thirty years with the defense of Hinduism, found organized expression at Barahanagar, a few miles to the north of Calcutta. . . .

". . . .in 1873, . . .a group of Hindus formed in Calcutta the *Sanatana Dharma Rakshini Sabba*, or Association for the Defence of the Eternal Religion. They were anxious to found a Sanskrit School in the city to counteract modern tendencies. . . .

"But the man who really made these ideas current coin in Indian was a Bengali ascetic, known as Ramakrishna Paramahamsa."

". . . .He declared that all religions were true, that in their inner essence they were identical, and that each man should remain in the religion in which he has been born:

. . . . . .

" '. . . .A Christian should follow Christianity, a Mohammedan should follow Mohammedanism, and so on. For the Hindus the ancient path, the path of the Aryan Rishis, is the best.' "

". . . .This provided the ordinary Hindu with a defence which he could use to meet Christian criticism and the Brahma Samaj.

[". . . .Over his personal disciples he exercised a still more wonderful power. Their love and reverence for him was boundless. . . . "]

"After Ramakrishna's death, his chief disciples decided that they must devote their lives to the spread of his teaching. So a group of them renounced the world and became sannyasis. Amongst these by far the most prominent has been Narenda Nath Datta, who took the name Vivekananda, when he became a sannyasi. . . ."

"We may grasp his message most distinctly, if we take it in four parts.

"A. All religions are true and good; and, therefore, every man ought to remain in his own religion.

"B. God is impersonal, unknowable, non-moral. He is manifested in the whole world, in all men, in all gods and in all incarnations. The human soul is truly divine. All men are saints. It is a calumny and a sin to say that any human being can be guilty of sin. Idolatry is a very healthy and spiritual form of worship. Every particle of Hinduism is of value and must be retained. The reformers are mistaken. . . .

"C. Hindu civilization, since it springs from the oldest and noblest of religions, is good, beautiful and spiritual in every part. The foreigner fails altogether to understand it. All the criticism of European scholars is erroneous, and everything that missionaries say on the subjects is wickedly slanderous. The Hindu nation is a spiritual nation. It has taught the world in the past, and will yet teach the whole world again.

"D. European nations and Western civilization are gross, material, selfish and sensual; and therefore their influence is most seriously degrading to the Hindu. It is of the utmost importance that every Hindu should do all in his power to defend his religion and civilization, and save Hindu society from the poison of Western influence. Yet the Hindu requires to use Western methods and Western education. Nay, the Hindu must even give up his vegetarianism, and become strong, and build up a powerful civilization once more on the soil of India."[11]

Regarding the orthodox Parsees' defence of their Persian Zoroastrianism abetted by the Theosophist movement coming in from the West, Farquhar reports:

"The Theosophic policy in Zoroastrianism was the same as in Hinduism,—full defence of the whole religion. The crudest and most superstitious observances were allegorically explained as expressions of the highest spiritual wisdom:

" 'They preach to the less educated classes of people that there is high efficacy in offering flowers and milk and cocoanuts to the waters; they preach to the people as an act of special religious merit to fall prostrate before and kiss imaginary pictures of their prophet; they exhort people to make a show of penitence by a vigorous slapping of cheeks. They represent to the people that the sole efficacy of their prayers consist in the material form resultant upon the physical vibrations created by their utterance.' ([Footnote from the] *Journal of the Iranian Association*, March, 1913, 247.)

"As in Hinduism, so here, the mounting spirit of nationalism and community-feeling coalesced with the impulse to defend the whole of the traditional faith; and there arose the cry: 'Everything Zoroastrian is good; everything Western is bad; we must defend ourselves against the pestilential materialism of Europe.' Behind this bulwark of patriotic communal feeling all the conservative elements of the Parsee race ranged themselves; and the tide of nationalism swept for a time the mass of the young educated men into the party, and carried away even a few of the older members of the reforming group.

"Gradually this party began to pose as the expounders of orthodox Zoroastrianism. . . .

"It was this group that caused the violent scenes that marred the first and second Zoroastrian Conferences. After that Conference, they separated themselves from the reformers; and, in consequence, the Parsee community has been rent into two parties."[12]

But all this defense has involved too much compromise for the conservatives: it stirs them to defense against the reformers:—

"By the year 1890, as a result of the work of the Arya Samaj, of Ramakrishna and the Theosophists, there was a general uprising of the educated Hindu spirit in defence of Hinduism. Out of this widespread desire to strengthen the old faith there sprang a number of organizations. In the Panjab the movement was started by Pandit Din Dayal Sarma, who has proved an energetic and successful organizer. Infuriated by the attacks

of the Arya Samaj on orthodox Hinduism, he attacked the Samaj in turn, and taught the people to retain their idols and live in orthodox fashion. . . .All these organizations aimed at defending orthodox Hinduism, but they were not connected with one another. ([Footnote from the] *Mahamandal Magazine*, vol. I, no. 4, pp. 1-2.)

"In 1902 it became possible to unite the various bodies in one large organization, and the Bharata Dharma Mahamandala was formed at Muttra. . . .

"The following are said to be the objects of the Association:

"(a) To promote Hindu religious education in accordance with the Sanatan Dharma, to diffuse the knowledge of the Vedas, Smritis, Purans and other Hindu Shastras and to introduce, in the light of such knowledge, useful reforms into Hindu Life and Society.

"(b) To promote and enrich the Sanskrit and Hindu literatures in all the branches.

"(c) To introduce such useful reforms as may be warranted by the Shastras in the management of the Hindu Charitable and religious institutions and Tirthas, i.e., sacred places.

"(d) To establish, affiliate and control Branch Sabhas in different parts of India.

"(e) To found and maintain new and to support the existing Hindu Colleges, Schools, Libraries and publishing establishments in consonance with the object of the Association.

"(f) To adopt all proper and lawful means and measures to carry out the above objects.

. . . . . .

"For eight years the newly formed organization enjoyed abounding prosperity under the guidance of Svami Gyanananda ji. . . .The Association had been recognized as a body representing the whole Hindu community by the heads of the chief Hindu sects and religious orders. Some 600 branches had been opened, and about 400 institutions had become affiliated. Nearly 200 preachers were employed; a considerable literature had been put into circulation; and large sums of money had been subscribed.

". . . .the leading personality in the movement at present is Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who is one of the most prominent men in the United Provinces as an educationalist and politician, and who has been the leading spirit in all that has been done to found a Hindu University."[13]

"The rise of the modern spirit and the example set by the great movements we have already discussed had the effect of

stirring each of the chief Hindu sects to self-defence and to various efforts for the strengthening of the community." Mr. Farquhar then takes up successively the movement among the Madhvas, Chaitanyas, Sri-Vaishnavas, Four Vaishnava Sects, Saiva Sidhanta, Lingayats, Left-hand Saktas, and Smartas.[14]

"The modern spirit and the difficulties of the times have stirred the leading castes, as well as the leading sects, of Hinduism to united action. The earliest of all the Caste organizations was the Kayastha Conference, which was first held in 1887. These gatherings were already very common by 1897; for Ranade refers to them in an address delivered that year. Caste Conferences may be local, or provincial, or may represent all India. . . .

"I have noted Conferences of Brahmans and of Brahman sub-castes, Kashatriyas, Rajputs, Vaisyas, Kayasthas and Kayastha sub-castes, Vellalas, Reddys, Nairs, Jats, Patidars, Daivadnyas, Namasudras, etc.

"There are two main motives in these conferences. On the one hand, they share the widespread impulse to defend the whole of Hinduism, and, very naturally, within that wider object, their own caste privileges. But on the other, there is a strong desire to promote the prosperity of the caste; and that of necessity demands the introduction of such reforms as may help the caste in the difficult circumstances of the present. Frequently the caste appeals to the Government for special privileges which they once enjoyed or which they would like to obtain. Resolutions are passed on the subject of the age of marriage, of funeral expenses, and of marriage expenses. Education usually bulks rather large, and female education is frequently advocated. There is a great desire to attain greater unity in the caste. Frequent proposals are made for making marriages possible between sub-castes which at present do not intermarry."[15]

They take over mores and methods of propaganda from the intruding Westerners—or from anyone who has mores and methods which help them in their struggle. Their characteristics as groups may be altered by this conflict and by these innovations. This is but a part, however, of the struggle for self-preservation: self-defence bred of fear for their security and prestige, requires it.

"Hindus lay all the stress nowadays on the best parts of Hinduism, and make as little as possible of law, custom and ritual. There is no movement that does not set the Upanishads

and the *Gita* in the foreground. So keenly is this felt in Jainism and Islam that, where the laws of the religion are external and old-world, modern apologists tell us that we must follow not the literal commands but the spirit of Jainism, the spirit of Islam, and there is many an orthodox Moulvie in India today who denies that the Koran allows slavery, polygamy or the killing of men who refuse to accept Islam. It is very significant that the Deva Samaj and Madame Blavatsky unite in proclaiming to the world how many hardened criminals their particular doctrine has saved.

"Christianity insists that the worship of God must be spiritual, and therefore that animal and vegetarian sacrifices, ceremonial bathing, pilgrimage and self-torture ought to be given up. For the same reason worship ought to be conducted in the vernacular, so that it may be understood by the people; otherwise it has little or no value for them. The Brahma, Prarthana and Arya Samajes have responded very fully to these ideals: and the Radha Soami Satsang, the Deva Samaj and Sivanarayana have not fallen far short of them. A sort of simple non-conformist service in the vernacular has been the norm for all these bodies. Sacrifice, pilgrimage and ceremonial bathing have been completely given up. The spirituality of true worship also finds powerful expression in *Gitanjali*. The conviction that prayer ought to be in the vernacular has led to fresh proposals among both Parsees and Muslims, although little result has followed. There have been a few attempts made to transform sacrifice to spiritual uses. Thus Keshab allegorized the *homa* sacrifice and the ceremonial waving of lights, called *Arati*. In the Arya Samaj and in the teaching of Sivanarayana we find fire-sacrifice retained, not as part of the worship of God but as a means of purifying the air!

"The Christian contention that sacred books can be of no value, unless they are understood by the people, has led all the movements, Jain, Sikh, Parsee and Muslim, as well as Hindu, to produce translations of the sacred books they use and to write all fresh books in the vernaculars."[16]

"The most characteristic and vital of all Hindu doctrines is transmigration and karma. It is also more anti-Christian than any other aspect of the religion; for it involves not only the theory that each individual passes through many lives and deaths, but also the doctrines that a man's place in society is an infallible index of the stage of soul-progress he has reached; that the suffering he undergoes is strictly equivalent to his past sins; that women are born women because of former sin, and widows are widowed for the same reason; that to seek to ameliorate the social condition

> of an individual or a tribe is futile, since the exact amount of the misery or happiness each man will suffer or enjoy is inevitably fixed by his karma; that Caste is the only right form of society, because social grades are divinely proportioned to human desert; that divine forgiveness is impossible; and that, since God stands apart from karma, He is necessarily actionless. . . .The doctrine has been expelled completely from the teaching of the Brahma and Prarthana Samajes; and everywhere else it has been deeply wounded. Every aspect of the social reform movement is a direct attack upon it; and indeed each of the social implications of the doctrine is rapidly losing its hold."[17]*

As Bristol says, quoting Novicow's *Les Luttes:* " 'To provoke imitation is to attack; to endure a propaganda (or a system of teaching) with the purpose of selecting parts for personal advancement is to defend oneself.' "[18]

Christianity is on the aggressive and that means conflict, but conflict is not necessarily violent destruction of opponents: instead, the propagandic attack may provoke an imitative-adjustment-defence which both discards old traits and developes new ones.

Asiatics often feel keenly, let us recall, that Christian missionaries are representatives of misinformed people in the West who do not know their civilization, and that the missionaries are themselves too busy or too prejudiced to learn it when they arrive; that the missionary enterprise regards it necessary to withhold from their followers much of their country's native culture if not to discredit it or to destroy it; that education and charities are largely "bribes" given to induce children into their groups, where they can be sure of the success of their de-culturizing efforts; and that, after all this, they return to the West to villify them there and make the Western peoples feel self-righteous in their government enterprise of colonial imperialism and in their missionary enterprise of alien Christianization. Every element of group organization and life,—custom, sacred writings, prestige and all,—is at stake. No sooner do non-Christian peoples

*Farquhar takes up the Jains (p. 333 ff.), the Sikhs (p. 340 ff.), and other groups separately, from this general point of view.

come to believe that Christian propagandists aim at stigmatizing, destroying, up-rooting, everything which the propagandist regards as inconsistent with his own mores or with his interpretation of Christianity, than the non-Christians perceive more or less definitely that they must either protest or resign themselves to any fate that may come. If they have vitality as groups—that is, if they are well organized,—they take immediate measures to defend themselves.

Let us turn our attention now to the means and measures taken in this self-protective activity—the actual technique employed and the conscious and unconscious attitudes connected with it.

Legal prohibition and physical punishment are the extreme measures applied in a good part of the non-Christian world, as they have been in Christian Europe, to get rid of heretical disturbers. Where direct force cannot be applied to the obnoxious innovators, mob demonstrations, threats, and blatant deprecation are used to show them they are not wanted or to suggest that they had better pass on as they will have no success if they linger. The use of both compulsion and threat was illustrated earlier.

It is quite patent that these defensive measures for dealing with the innovators are prized in part, also, for their retroactive influence upon faithful members of the group. They serve as a warning to them. This is particularly so when the attacked group has the power and the technique to punish those of its own members who appear to side with the innovators, especially if they have the effrontery to join the Christian Church.

> The early Protestant missionaries to Japan reported:
> "No teachers could be obtained, and so new words were picked up from servants, carpenters, visitors, and others. After a year, a man offered to teach Japanese in exchange for instruction in English. When, however, the translation of Matthew was begun, the man, after completing the first chapter, refused to do any more, saying that it would cost him his life."[19]

" 'This Government is in some respects a strong one. In consequence of what occurred with the Jesuits and monks of former times it took the most stringent measures to efface the very name of Christian (Kiristan) as that of a crafty usurper from the memory of its subjects, or else to make it the symbol of whatever is dangerous and detestable . . .every man, woman, and child must be registered at some Buddhist or Shinto temple, or be denied a decent burial. Thus every Japanese is in the grasp of an iron hand, the hand of the Government. There is no evidence that the old edicts against Christians have been revoked; no proclamation from the Government as yet assures the people that they would not be treated as criminals worthy of the death-penalty, should they be suspected of favouring the Christian religion. The missionary might or might not suffer from the offence of preaching, but his hearers would.' "[20]

Vested interests—we are not now analyzing their own motives in full—are among the first to calculate on the value of such peremptory treatment, especially upon prominent members who make good object lessons; for it tends to re-establish the group's leaders and group prestige.

The experience of Chundra Lela is typical of stories told by Christian missionaries, of how individuals are made examples of: She had been warned by the missionaries, she says, that her co-religionists would turn and persecute her because "I was an important person in the eyes of the Hindus." After her confession and acceptance by the church, she brought her clothes away from her living place by stealth. She went to live at the house of the native Christian pastor. The Hindus would not believe she had become a Christian. To convince them, she drank water out of a glass from the pastor's hands and smoked. They became angry, then furious, and began to riot.[21]

They see to it that the group comes to realize, if possible, that their own laws, customs, beliefs, and status are unimpeachable and cannot be forsaken with impunity. If the vested guardians can stir the group into open opposition to the innovators, into the combative instead of the defensive mood, so much the better.

The history of Habeeb's first years as a Christian is replete with the devices of the vested interests to keep the community group opposed to this new doctrine. On one occasion "the priests convinced Habeeb's father that he must take the most

strenous measures to reclaim his recreant son, or else make an example of him for the benefit of others." Soon after there followed an attempt to burn out the quarters occupied by Habceb. All sorts of methods and tactics were used to discourage his Christian work. His fellow villagers tried to prevent his building his own home by tearing down in the night what he had built in the day time. They tried to keep his little church group from securing church property or building, as they could because of the existing communism according to which lots, building sites, and annual plowing sections were alloted by the community. On Easter holiday after mass, there was usually a procession in this particular village. His enemies planned to make it the occasion for an attack on his partly built home. His bringing of Mohammedan guests into this Greek Christian community alone prevented the attack.[22]

Opposition that is restricted from overt action by international, national, or local laws, may be maneuvered into competitive activities which develop a most effective defense by generating enthusiasm for one's own group. These measures we have examined before. A mere mention of them here is sufficient. They cover a wide range and are exceedingly important.

Along with both the combative and competitive measures, a group may employ the tabu, or some derogation of the aggressor's technique. Islam declares the New Testament is false, because it has been tampered with.

Kamil himself before becoming a Christian, and, a great many Moslems who interviewed, challenged, or slandered him after he became a Christian, contended that the Old and New Testaments of the Christian Bible are not the original Christian Scriptures which Mohammed told people to read; they had been tampered with by Christians; therefore they were false and should not be read.[23]

It bans a certain Christian convert's writings, just as European Catholicism has been known to ban the Bible!

Speaking of this same Moslem inquirer and later convert, Mr. Jessup says: "He was greatly interested in the famous Arabic book, 'The Letter of Abdul Messiah ibn Ishaak el Kindy' to his Moslem friend the Hashimy in the days of the Caliph Mamun, 800 A.D., inviting him to become a Christian. This book is regarded by the Moslems as so dangerous to their faith that they

have a saying, 'The house of any Moslem who shall possess this book shall be burned and also seventy houses around it.' "[24]

The Japanese once banned even books on ethics by Christian writers.

> "Students of English found in their reading-books frequent references to religious doctrines. . . .One who was a teacher in these schools has written of this time: 'Every class of students able to read a foreign language, from the highest to the lowest, was supplied with text-books on morals, and the use of them continued during several months. Suddenly an order from the Dai Jo Kwan (the Emperor's Privy Council) to discontinue the study arrived in the various schools, this study was banished from the curriculum, and the manuals of Wayland, Haven, and Malebranche were exiled. . . .Text-books on morals made by Christian writers were supposed to be too strongly flavoured with Christian theology, and the name so long publicly outlawed and hated in this Empire occurred too often on their pages to render it safe to allow such books in the hands of Japanese youth. . . . .On discovering their true nature. . . the order to discontinue the study of these books was sudden and peremptory. . . . .A few weeks later came an order prohibiting all students in the government schools from attending or visiting a Christian Church.' "[25]

Thus, such tabooing of the aggressors' technique extends even to their meeting places and services.

> In describing the work of Protestant missions in the Near East, after the time of Henry Martyn, Wherry says that street and chapel addresses often took on the character of debates between the missionary and certain Moslems. "So influential were they, that by and by the Mullahs forbade the faithful to listen to such debates or to read books in which the questions were discussed from the Christian standpoint."[26]

Force and authority are therefore used as a counter technique with the purpose of isolating the group from the innovator's influence. The child, of course, is treated this way all over the world.

When absolute authority cannot prevent contacts with the dangerous aggressors, on the other hand, mere derogation of their technique may be resorted to, in order to offset its effect.

Hindus and Buddhists scatter Occidental infidel and rationalist literature among their people to prevent their believing Christianity.

> ". . . .There was another individual, a man from the north of India, who had received his training in a Mission school in the south, who was my most violent opponent. He openly reviled the Scriptures, and suggested that I should be made to read infidel books. My father brought me some thirty publications of this character, supplied chiefly by this very man. They were the productions of European and American unbelievers, with some composed in India, chiefly by Parsees. I did not refuse to read them, but in God's mercy my knowledge of the Bible was sufficient to help me see the falsehoods of such books, and these I pointed out to my dear father and others."[27]

Mullahs warn their followers that Western education makes men infidels and agnostics.

> Tisdall of Persia asserts that "the Mohammedans in Persia—their leaders, the Mullahs—have said for years that if any one goes in for Western education, even to the extent of learning a European language, he will become an infidel."[28]

Along with the assumption of authority to command and of right to think and choose for the rank and file, there is here employed a technique of verbal classification called by Thomas "definition of the situation." A similar manipulation of epithets, stigmas, and sanctions, is seen in exhortation and in general characterizations, which are used to influence opinion and action.

> A convert says: "When I was studying for my F.A. I started a rival Sunday School in front of the Mymensing Gospel Hall and began teaching the children the *Gita*, and thus drew about 160 boys out of 200 from the Christian Sunday School. My principal work was to persuade people to shut their doors against the missionaries. One day I severely persecuted the missionary and his band and became afraid of police prosecution."[29]
>
> Wherry tells how specific arguments have been given Moslem preachers to use against Christianity.[30]

The presence of an aggressive propagandist for an utterly alien religion in the average community in Europe or America—for instance, a Hindu or Moslem, — would be enough to arouse

aversion, bitter aversion, if he seemed to be getting a hold on the young people. But to stigmatize him before the community as a defamer of what the community holds sacred, a violator of its moral-religious laws and customs, and a bigot—that is a most effective way of arousing contempt and the strong emotion of anger. Transfer this little drama to the villages of Asia, where such sacred taboos as that against cow-killing and such sacred customs as that of ancestor-worship, and a number of lesser ones, are violated—and the calling of attention to these things is seen to act as a powerfully offensive defense against the influence of the propagandist. To designate a person in one's own mind and in the minds of others as a bigot, a man who claims exclusive right and supreme authority for his doctrine, is to ensure popular derision. To charge him with slandering and misrepresenting one's group, with using coercion, and even with bribing the children in order to inculcate his religion, is to awaken the innate anger and self-respect of the group to fierce reprisal. We have certainly had enough clues to the actual use of such charges and to their functioning in this way among the group members, to warrant a careful investigation of detailed cases.

These ways of putting tags upon propagandists, of classifying them according to categories that carry strong emotional connotations of an unfavorable nature—this, then, is a most effective means of protection against their influence for the reason that it tends to insulate them, to put them temporarily beyond danger. And that is one of the main purposes, though possibly unconscious at times, of the criticisms and the professed causes of non-approval hurled apparently against the person or movement outside of the group: they beget emotions that retroactively protect the group. It is not always necessary to vilify a man in order to insulate him from one's group. To call him "foreign" is enough in a smug community; to speak of him as an idolator or contrariwise a Christian, is to provoke repulsion in others. If men of different climes and religions are a familiar sight, it may take a little more—it may require charging him with tempera-

ment and mental habits so alien "that neither he nor his mores can be of any use to us." Cleverly even the foreigner's propagandic kindnesses are sometimes interpreted in such a way as to bring credit to the attacked religion.

> "The Hospital of the Rhine Mission in Pea Radja [Sumatra] forces many Mohammedans to admit that such love is found only among Christians. Of course the explanation is at once given by their leaders: 'Yes, the Christian nurse our sick and do them good, but that is just what Allah has determined, that they should perform this lowly service to believers.' "[31]

The essential thing is to describe the foreigner and his mores in ways that make them uninviting or repulsive to the particular community.

To brand those deserting from one's own to the opponent's group is retroactive in the same way as to brand the opponent himself. "Traitor," "infidel," "blasphemer," "thankless wretch," "immoral," and "heretic" are terms used with the same emotionally protective effect. The vocabulary varies—the effect is the same in this respect. To a Christian family, one who "falls from the faith" is lost, or even "given over to the works of the Evil One"; to the Chinese family, the calamitous or heinous thing is to violate the rules of filial piety—for to them filial piety is the "Law and the Prophets"; etc.

This is not by any means mere stage play: it is genuinely self-protective in its impulse. Individuals astray from their family or relatives or community may join the Christian Church without interference, as we have indicated when considering the disorganized individuals. But let the member of a family or of a community close at hand definitely withdraw his allegiance from the little group, from the family ideals, from the ancestors, from the community's protecting gods, and to them he does indeed become a traitor: he brings down the wrath of ancestors and gods upon them, he throws contempt upon the most priceless heritage of the group by rejecting its ideals, he sets up an example for others which would disrupt the group if followed, and he goes out into a new world which to them is strange and unknown,

a black abyss. Fear and the attempt to ward off the baneful influence is accompanied by anger and re-assertion of that self-feeling and self-esteem which are impugned by the aggressors and the deserters. Except for the practice of using force, it is like the "Hard Shell" Baptist or conservative Methodist family in the United States whose son is being exposed to "higher criticism." They first clutch at him to hold him within their group influences and denounce those who are leading him to his "ruin." But if he abandons the customs and ideals of the family, community, or religious sect, they re-inforce their own group morale and pride by the second means of violent emotional protest: either they condemn him as a traitor to their glorious and righteous cause to be banished or killed outright, or, if more gentle attitudes characterize the group, they bewail him and pray for him as lost from the ranks of the elect and as cut off from his share in their supreme heritage. His former associates in the group are warned of the dangerous doctrine.

> "Among the Bataks, as among many other peoples, those who first ventured to pass over to Christianity were expelled from the tribe."[32]
>
> "A few days ago a couple of inoffensive converts came to ask my aid in getting them back home in safety. Members of their branch of the clan had resolved to hold a Buddhist service to release the souls of their ancestors from purgatory, where they had been undergoing misery for tens of years. In consequence each family was mulcted in a given sum. Our two converts who could not conscientiously pay this money, were immediately attacked and beaten, and had to run away for safety. They were very patient, sought no reprisals, nothing but to be allowed to return home in peace. . . .What incredible selfishness on the part of the Christians to know that their forefathers were enduring the horrors of purgatory, and yet refuse to give a small sum for their release! Where is the boasted charity of Christianity! Where is the love of fellowmen! Such inconsistency is incomprehensible!"[33]
>
> "But the Christian's supreme social offence is his renunciation of ancestor worship. That worship is the most sacred and revered rite of China, and is common to all classes, from the Emperor downwards. It is the first and great commandment,

the corner-stone of society, and the foundation of the family and the State. The agnostic and the indifferent may sneer at the gods and neglect them as far as practicable, but all join in ancestor worship *con amore*. Personal gratitude and affection, as well as family and clan feeling, unite all in this time-honoured national rite. The man who neglects it seems an inhuman monster, a wretch who has renounced father and mother and ancestors. The renunciation severs him from his family and from his clan, and cuts him off from participation in their common rights. He is an out-cast from his own kith and kin.

"If the convert has living parents who do not share in his new faith, the case is particularly hard for him and for them. They look forward with dread to being unworshipped, beggar ghosts in Hades, and he has the misery of seeing their disappointment, sorrow, and fear. 'Parents, therefore,' writes Mr. C. T. Wang, 'guard with the greatest care their children from coming under the influence of Christians, lest they should abandon ancestral worship and leave them in poverty and misery in Hades. Children, too, shrink from causing such anxiety and dread to their parents.' "[34]

Of the Moslem writer of *Sweet First-Fruits: A Tale of the Nineteenth Century on the Truth and Virtue of the Christian Religion*, Muir, the translator, reports:

"He said to me, 'Oh the persecution of tears! I could bear beating, but my mother's tears are hard to bear. She thinks me lost forever!' "[35]

Man is originally personal rather than abstract in his thoughts, and may naturally tend to inveigh against people rather than things; early Christian missions especially, Roman Catholic and Protestant alike, report direct personal reactions against missionaries.

"Of all the apostolic men who preached the Gospel in India, none was so successful as St. Francis Xavier. . . .He himself complains in his letters of the intractable spirit of the castes in question. . . .It is not enough that they think a religion true in itself, they must needs have regard to the instrument through which it is conveyed to them, and they cannot prevail with themselves to receive anything from the Europeans, they looking upon them as the most infamous, the most abominable wretches upon earth."[36]

Yet the one implies the other, and sooner or later opposition to missionaries is supplemented if not partially replaced by opposition to what they bring with them—the former is often abandoned after a while, but the latter remains.

> Text-books on national ethics used in the schools of Japan, have a section on "Kind Treatment to Foreigners." It puts far more stress on how to treat them as individuals than it does on how to act toward their alien customs.[37]*

Even what appears to be abstract criticism of Christianity, the Report avers, may be more or less personal.

> "Many of the native Christians deprecate the presentation of Christianity in Western forms, but are unable to offer any suggestion as to the direction in which changes might be made. It would appear to be the case that it is not the Western form of Christianity, but the Western character of the missionary, which creates the difficulty."[38]

Sooner or later, the criticism of self-protection singles out objectionable customs per se and discredits them. The opponents' mores themselves are attacked as violations of sacred group customs and beliefs; if this is impossible, then, as harmful, unwise, fatuous, or superstitious. Moslems inveigh against Christians' use of wine and liquor; Japanese, against Christianity's incompatibility with loyalty to the Emperor; Chinese, against disregard for filial conduct; others, against the license allowed women—the whole range of divergences in mores or in emphases within the mores may be utilized, and effectively so, as we noticed earlier. Moreover, if the opponents' mores can be exposed as already discredited by the history and science of their own land, as assuming to have brought progress while in reality they have blocked progress, as claiming to make nations moral when they are professed by nations most immoral in their domestic life or international relations—it means scoring more winning points. Too, what constitutes a heresy, what constitutes questionable

*Scrutiny of the section shows that this cannot be due to the pedagogical device of not stating what is not desired; for no such purpose is consistent with the remarks about the foreigners themselves.

concessions,—these must be clearly defined as means of warding off their insidious influence. Where group members are loyal, it is enough merely to let them know that such and such beliefs are heretical or are dangerous, especially if those giving the warning are honored or prestiged persons. What is needed and sought is a definition of the situation in partisan or group terms as something odious or dangerous.

If the groups in conflict have had previous relations, this classifying of the other group and its customs and beliefs has probably been done. It is now crystalized with supporting attitudes of a suitable sort. Mohammedanism, as a result of its prolonged contest with Christian Europe, developed a group attitude of superiority and antipathy towards Christians; also, group compromises in the matter of custom; and more or less definite formulations of opinion and apologetic with reference to Christian mores—accompanied by such corresponding ideological symbols as "infidel" which became nuclei for its reactions. These sentiments, custom compromises, apologetic, and ideological symbols became traditional and habitual, passing on from generation to generation. Of course, Christianity has done the same with reference to Islam and all other religions within its ken, utilizing such symbols as "heathen," "pagan," "lost," "nonreligious," etc., about which to organize its sentiments and other behavior.

Probably no part of this traditionalized technique of self-differentiation, self-vindication and self-prestige, is more illuminating than the adjustment of custom and doctrine. Contemporaneously it is making rapid strides in India and elsewhere as we have occasionally suggested. History through eighteen or nineteen centuries is replete with evidences of the process. It is simply this, to take a familiar illustration: A new theory of the universe arises, a theory that the earth is round instead of flat, or a theory of evolution. Being in conflict with the Biblical book of Genesis, or the Koran, or some doctrine of Christianity or Islam, it is simply and directly repudiated. Where possible it is derided as an old revived heresy: "The

church always argued that there were no new heresies. All would, on examination, prove to be old and discredited."[39] When it gains credence and threatens to shake the beliefs of faithful, the stock of theology is augmented by extended exposures of the "fallacy," such as the proofs of the falsity of evolution now current among many sects—these safeguard the group members by giving them partisan explanations of the disturbing science or philosophy. Finally, if the new philosophy gains too wide acceptance, the liberal wings of the traditional groups devise a new synthesis admitting what is necessary or profitable and cutting off what is most obviously contradictory to their beliefs; they then utilize the necessary or acceptable part of it within their system of belief so as to make their essential doctrines even firmer and at the same time to acquire the prestige of being consistent with modern knowledge. With such a self-protective synthesis, evolution is accepted by certain Christian and non-Christian sects not merely in a harmless form but in one made to prove the vaster power and purposes of the deity. Such protective accommodations are resorted to continually in overt practices; for example, in the Hindus' dealings with the tabooed crossing the ocean, or the Christians' recreation on the Sabbath. Hinduism or Christianity is made more "practicable." Mohammedanism, say Christian critics, is rationalized by historical criticism and idealization; Christianity, reply Moslems, is rationalized in the same way; etc. Whether in belief or practice, such pragmatic adjustments provide the vested interests and the older generations with a "modernized" yet "safe" mores; with these they try to satisfy the vivacious and investigative youth of their groups and yet hold his respect and loyalty until he reaches that maturity of years which believes its mores without serious question, no matter what they are.

In any technique of group defense and maintenance, the adjustment made in group sentiments, doctrines, customs, and symbols, holds a fundamental place. Whether traditional or contemporaneously improvised, these protective devices are

certain to be used. If their casual use keeps one's group safe from heresy and "demoralization," from attrition or undermining, they may not have to be deliberately taught and preached. If their casual use is not sufficiently protective, however, they may have to be systematically taught and preached. The question of what protective technique the group needs to use, depends upon the various elements of group organization and the hold they have upon the individual—the degree to which he is saturated with the group tradition, responsibility, and prestige. The younger generation is given exhortation aimed at saturating it with these things, because it is restless and liable to seek new customs and philosophies. If the youth of a group can also be made to accept responsibility for promoting group activities, group mores, and group traditions, and their surplus energy can be harnessed more or less to the *status quo*,—that is "ideal"! The books, pamphlets, periodicals, conferences, and reform and missionary programs of the non-Christian religions are ample testimony to a conviction that this entire protective technique, derogatory as well as constructive, should be developed throughout the membership of these great complex-culture groups.

Now without continually saying so, we have been discussing many of the professed causes of non-approval. It must be obvious that among the adjustments in ideation and symbols made self-protectively by different groups, are the very accusations hurled at aggressors from without the group (Western Christian missionaries) and at deserters from within it (converts to Christianity), which constitute certain of those professed causes. We would not suggest that all verbal statements by those unwilling to approve Christianity, all issues raised for debate, all objections offered to Christianity, all reasons given for apathy or for definite disapproval—we would not suggest that all these are consciously protective. Some, possibly, may not be protective at all. But the protective element is so dominant among them that it must be regarded a major factor.

3. PROMOTERS' EXPLANATIONS IN THE LIGHT OF THE SELF-PROTECTIVE URGE

We have thus far considered non-approving responses to Christian propaganda only from the point of view of those who aim to protect themselves by those responses. A peculiar thing about these protective responses is that sometimes they include a counter-attack upon Christian missions against which, in turn, the Christian group tries to protect itself. It is especially alert to ward off non-Christians' attacks from its convert group and its mores. We shall take up this topic further in a sketch of "the propagandist's protective technique" in a later volume. The only aspects of the propagandists' self-protective technique which concern us now, are the ones connected with the rejections of Christianity by non-Christians, or with reasons for it. It is to be expected that those particular aspects of the missionary's self-protective technique include overt activities, sentiments, and ideological expressions; the last—his self-protective ideation—since it appears in the reasons he gives for the rejection of Christianity, should be noticed briefly, at least.

The explanations which the propagandist gives for non-Christian indifference and antagonism to his propaganda, let us note, are chiefly explanations which he makes to himself and his group, on the one hand, and to the more or less neutral world at large, on the other. They are not, therefore, veiled incriminations to threaten or to frighten away the members of the other group. They are not primarily brands and stigmas aimed at the other groups' mores in order retroactively to set his own group against them and hence to insure his own group's aloofness from the attacked group—except for a certain prophylactic apologetic which will be taken up in the later treatment. Insofar as his deprecating interpretations of the other group's unfavorable response is aimed at impressing that other group at all, it is likely to be aimed at winning its members to his cause.

> Says an Indian convert of his pre-conversion experience: "I was greatly offended with the Christians, because they tried to convince me of my very sinfulness. I was conceited and

> thought myself sinless, having a strong moral character and being earnest at finding the truth, and was a Brahman of the highest order."[40]

By calling the non-Christians "lost," "sinners," etc., and by showing them their "unfortunate" or "doomed" condition, the propagandist hopes to make them more ready to come and accept his salvation, his mode of living, and his rites and beliefs.

Winning one's opponents, however, is not the main function of the reasons which the missionary gives his home group for non-Christians' rejection of Christianity. Note first that his reasons are actually accepted by his home group as an explanation of the slow progress of his own efforts and hence of the group's own movement for the spread of its mores. For, other things being equal, if their religion was as invaluable and all-essential as he and his group think it is, it ought to be accepted instanter. Surely, then, the failure to clamor for it is caused by defects in those who hear it, the Christian Church has argued. We have referred previously to this one essential traditional explanation which Christians give for the failure of non-Christians to accept the Christian gospel: the Devil, sin, resistance to the Holy Spirit, etc., prevented them.

> For instance: "Others discovered that the new teaching clashed with their most cherished sins, and many fell away [from attendance upon worship] on that account."[41]

A sample of the way *non-Christians* sometimes interpret these explanations of the Christian propagandist's failure, we have seen in comments of Coomaraswamy quoted elsewhere, and in those of *The Review of Religions* upon certain books written by missionaries. From the latter we quote further criticism of Herrick's *Christian and Mohammedan*:

> " 'Christian and Mohammadan' is a fresh outburst of the volcano of missionary intolerance. George F. Herrick was for full fifty years a preacher of Christianity in Turkey, and with all his earnestness and missionary tactics his attempts at Christianizing Turkey were a sad but complete failure. To cover his failure in the missionary endeavour he has resorted to the common missionary dodge and has just brought out a volume

"Christian and Mohammadan" . . .We really admire Dr. George F. Herrick's astuteness as he has so successfully wheedled the Christian people into the idea that he has done a yeoman' service to the cause of Christianity, but his book is only a collection of the objections and the misstatements which have so often been dinned into our ears and which, absolutely devoid of truth as they are, go a great way towards convincing the Muslim mind that the Christian missionaries do not care to acquaint themselves with the true teachings of Islam as interpreted by the doctors of this religion, however much they may happen to move among Muhammadan environments."[42]

Obviously it is the contrast between the Christian and non-Christian assumptions, not the accuracy of either, that we are here calling attention to.

Naturally when a non-Christian religion has greater success than Christianity in converting a primitive people, the comparative failure of Christianity is explained in the same way as its slow progress ordinarily is. In accounting for the larger number of converts which his Moslem opponent has secured in Africa, the Christian promoter says, in one of his milder moods:

". . . .Every Mohammedan trader is a propagandist. It is by no means a convinced or staunch Mohammedanism which is thus covering Africa. It wins the adherence of the Pagans by associating them with a recognised religion and investing them with a higher social status, while it sanctions polygamy and imposes no moral or spiritual obligations that are unwelcome to the unregenerate heart. It is also a passport to Government employment."[43]

The presence in non-Christians of certain environmental obstructions or of certian laudable characteristics may be granted, if they are not emphasized too much. One or two rare individuals such as Allen protest against the derogatory kind of explanation which predominates in accounts of Islam's progress—not to speak of other religions. Palpably, to say the least, the promoter's explanations of non-approval, wheresoever they are found, are almost always in terms that tend not to discredit him, his group, or its mores, in terms on the contrary that support

and-reinforce the group's high estimate of itself, its mores, and its representatives.

Take up the explanations of non-approval as classified in Chapters V and VI, and the same fact is without doubt implicit in them. First of all, wherever indifference and opposition to propaganda are assigned to *contrasts in mores*, that fact of divergence from Christian mores implies in the minds of the progagandist and his group that the non-Christians are the worse off for the difference.

> ". . .There is a sense of sin, but it is slight; there is a fear of death and hell . . .but it is too easily allayed. What we have to contend with is the remnant of that old Hindu unwillingness to make a direct cleavage between the right and the wrong: the ancient lack of interest in the moral question as distinguished from the ceremonial or the speculative. The gods of Hinduism were not moral beings. Hinduism is not essentially a moral religion. . . ."[44]

This is patent in the illustrations already given and throughout missionary literature. Yet it should be clearly grasped here. It is highly significant. If differences in mores result in violence, fanaticism, poisoning of converts, and general antagonism, those misfortunes and wrongs are said to be due to the non-Christians' wickedness, not to the Christians' unjust interference—for every group must sustain its self-prestige. And so in the most comprehensive investigation of Chrisitan missions yet made by Christians the (report of the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh) these differences in mores are tabulated and discussed as moral, social, and intellectual *shortcomings of the non-Christian group*. In fact, they are urged as reasons for the urgency of further propaganda. Secondly, when opposition to propaganda is ascribed to contemporaneous or historic *group attitudes* against the propagadists' group, that fact is advanced merely as an evil condition or an unfortunate circumstance which must be overcome by tact. When opposition to propaganda is ascribed to *vested interests*, that, to the propagandist and his group, is merely saying that it is from an egoistic and selfish minority,

that it is therefore prejudiced and unfair, and that the unfortunate majority should be rescued from their bondage and fate by persistent and bold efforts, on the part of the propagandists. And thus we might go through the entire list of professed causes of non-approval.

The promoters' explanation for the failure of their efforts to elicit a receptive response, therefore, may be just as defensive as those of the rejector; in each case *they function toward the preservation of his own and his group's prestige*, in fact, to reinforce it. There are exceptions; but this seems to be the inevitable tendency. *The very same differences in custom or belief, the very same incidents of rebuff, are utilized in the two opposing camps to support utterly opposing groups and their antithetical attitudes and mores.*

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CHAPTER VIII

EXAMINATION OF ACTUAL CAUSES—*concluded:* THE MOTIVATION POINT OF VIEW AND ITS GENERAL APPLICATION TO REJECTION

(An Interpretation of the Professed Causes of Non-approval—*concluded*: Bio-psychological Sequences Applied to Rejection Situations in General)

1. RECAPITULATION ON METHOD: THE URGE AS PART OF A COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH TO ANALYSIS

Use of the Urge Point of View in the Preceding Chapter.—What significance for method of analysis has this sketch of non-approving responses from the standpoint of promoters' and rejectors' "self-protective" tendencies? We have taken into consideration the fact that the individual and the group (have an inherent urge, need, or tendency to) respond in a manner aimed at protecting and maintaining themselves against intruding forces. This has given us a clue to explanations of the propagandic conflict, which are based on bio-psychological fact, which have a certain logical and systematic basis, and which are capable of providing new angles of vision. True, certain items quoted may be subject to other explanations, either in part or as wholes. But the sketch validates for our purposes *a point of view that takes cognizance of innate bio-psychological urges and scientifically determined social tendencies.* It certainly demonstrates the superiority of this method of analyzing and interpreting data to that represented by the categories under the "Plausible Reasons for Rejection." Time and again, in the non-Christians' mode of rejecting missionary overtures, we have seen a technique of self-defense and self-vindication.* We have seen this technique used in a way indicating that the agencies of Christian propaganda are experienced, by the non-Christian individual or group, as stimuli threatening basic

*Functioning so as to prevent molestation, obstruction, deprivation of possessions (inclusive of ideas), lowering of self-regard, injury, or annihilation—any form of attack—and so as to relieve the sense of apprehension and uncertainty with regard to any of these dangers.—See account of "protective" tendency in Appendix II.

processes: i.e., endangering "culture traits"—activities, beliefs and sentiments of the group—which procure self-maintenance, life-activity, self-respect, or protection; endangering the life-organization of the individual or the social organization of the group. The individual and group have reacted with fear and anger, with random movements, with thought and statement (ideational technique) with calculated combative gestures. Their purpose has apparently been to maintain the essential content, the previous essential functioning, the satisfactory organization, of their possessions and behavior. And these self-protective reactions tend to continue until certainty is restored and urge-satisfaction (such as the restoration of normal self-regard) secured: then, fear and anger subside, and the provoked gestures and ideation cease or pass into tradition as history.

Applying this Urge Point of View Throughout Behavior Reactions:* IMPORTANCE OF PRELIMINARY STUDY OF PSYCHO-SOCIOLOGICAL SETTING, ILLUSTRATED.—It should be realized first of all that, in demanding the full description of stimulus and response correlations responsible for any given reaction, the history of what is usually called the psychological setting,

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*PRELIMINARY SCRUTINY OF MASSES OF DATA.—The positing of certain accepted urges and certified social laws may be said to imply sorting over masses of data on non-Christian reactions from the standpoint of the different urges and laws consecutively. (That mere pigeon-holing of data by unwarranted *a priori* categories is not meant here, is plain from the demand made in the Appendices and later in the text for deriving categories from data as well as from these sources.) It requires investigating their activities, for example, first, to see if the "physical appetites" help to motivate any of them; then, to see if the activistic group of urges enter in; then, self-protection; then, self-regard; etc., throughout the urges as listed tentatively in Appendix II, section 2. There is no need to carry out that procedure elaborately with the *non-approving* responses. In Chapters IX and X the *approving* responses will be examined primarily from this viewpoint. That will be sufficiently illustrative. It is at the crux, note, of social analyses as we are making them for the purposes of a perspective.

TO BE FOLLOWED BY INTENSIVE TREATMENT OF INDIVIDUAL SITUATIONS.—In the case of both approving and non-approving responses it should be understood that such a step is only intermediate to intensive synthetic studies. A synthetic procedure would evaluate the function of all the different urges in any single concrete situation under consideration, and account for all other concrete facts possible whether or not by the aid of urges. Thus, for example, it would analyse the rejection of Christianity by some one family. The synthetic view assumes a complete account of each typical aspect of a situation in an intensive delimited study. It is assumed that this study would be critical: e.g., that

may be required. The simplicity and at the same time the wide scope of this fact should not be overloooked.

The stimulus-response account of any action is the only tolerable account for our purpose. And, of course, ultimately, the precise stimulus calls for a description as adequate as does the precise response.

> To illustrate by a concrete case, a convert from Islam declares regarding Christianity: "At school and college, I considered it a foreign religion, and consequently did not want to have anything to do with it, but through an Egyptain evangelist, I came to realise that Christianity was not western, but eastern . . . ."

Here the innovation is classified apperceptively by the Moslem as "foreign religion"; he had already developed a negative or non-approving response-system possibly toward religions or more probably toward all innovations that were "foreign,"

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such dangers as reading too much into data, misjudging the frequency and strength of urges, overlooking the partial or overlapping expression of urges, overlooking the significance of conditioning circumstances and of both multiple stimuli and multiple responses, etc., must be borne in mind.

The Accounts in Chapters V and VI of Value in Analyzing Situations and in Disclosing the "Settings" of Stimuli and Responses.—It will require extensive research to make intensive studies of a vast number of typical situations by the synthetic procedure. In the meantime, are we to depend alone, for the perspective sought in our earlier chapters, upon "Preliminary Scrutiny of Masses of Data" from the standpoint of consecutive urges (and inductive classification of data not thus covered)? Are we to discard the other factors and forces laid bare in Chapters V and VI? By no means. They are of distinct value. More than that, essential elements in that preliminary treatment should be telescoped, condensed, or sifted out, for use in analyzing the total stimulus-response situation in any behavior.

The main thing to be kept in mind is the stimulus-response sequence. From this point of view, the preliminary treatment of data in Chapters V and VI, aside from certain light on chief stimuli and responses themselves, may be regarded as getting at *the setting*, at certain relationships, at certain conditioning circumstances, in typical stimulus-response situations. The accident of differing mores, the trend toward nationalism, the peculiar exclusive characteristics of Christianity and Islam, and many other facts considered in Chapters V and VI, throw definite light upon the settings of non-Christian response-situations. And nothing short of some such attention to settings is adequate if the function of any reaction is to be considered adequately in the life-process of an individual or group.

Factors to be Noted in the New Procedure from the Point of View of Stimulus-Response Situations.—The way in which the facts as to settings may both supplement the "Preliminary Scrutiny of Masses of Data" and aid in the more "Intensive Treatment of Individual Situations," will be evident in a fresh statement of the things to be noted in analyzing reactions to Christian propaganda. The aspects of behavior to be weighed before interpretation can be risked, then, are the following:—First, the outward behavior, the *overt*

or toward both together; the presentation of Christianity, therefore, acted as a stimulus to set off this habitual response-system. The stimulus, in this case therefore, was conditioned upon previous stimuli which in turn determined the mode of perceiving and classifying the present stimulus. So much for the immediate relationship of the response. (And this is true in a host of cases that might be mentioned.)

If now we go back to the previous reaction-system, we find, possibly, a specific habit built upon warnings of parents or priests. Yet, there may be a long history of dealings with other alien religionists who call themselves Christians. For instance, what may be spoken of as the Japanese reaction-system of fierce hostility to institutional Christianity which early Protestant missionaries found in Japan, was one built up by first-hand experience with Roman Catholic missions and other foreigners. The same is true of China and other places in the East.

Moreover, the close scrutiny of the circumstances under which this vehement attitude developed to replace the tolerance of still earlier times in Japan, will doubtless show that a primitive

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responses inclusive of statements (rationalizations) of aim and intention—actions, gestures, and verbal statements of evidence, such as we saw in the behavior of the Mohammedan and Hindu rejection of Christianity. Particular attention should be paid to random movements, evidences of trial and error behavior, or other departures from custom, and to imitative activity. Second, any affective or *feeling* accompaniments of the overt responses—for example, any fear, anger, or love toward others, any belittling attitude toward others, any desire for attention and regard, etc., and the degree of tension or relaxation in the situation—and if possible, the correlations of these with the overt responses. Third, the actual, often unconscious, *bio-psychological and social process* underneath and responsible for the overt responses and their accompanying attitudes. The special phases of this interests-satisfying-urges process which Christian propaganda breaks in upon, must be characterized—e.g., the way in which (the "interests" by which) a given Moslem or Christian satisfies his urges for expressive activity, self-esteem, self-protection, etc. Evidence of lack of equilibrium (either of lack of satisfaction with the present interests or of change anywhere in the whole process-situation), must be noted.

(i) Such analyses *imply* that we know the *correlation of innate tendencies and of different states of equilibrium with culture traits* (e.g., a given family custom, or a given apologetic for belief in a deity) *and with economic and social conditions*, including the state of the group's organization, as we termed it in Chapter II. This, note, links up various attendant circumstances (conditioning factors) with the bio-psychological or social process. (ii) The above analyses imply also that we note the *correlations of different new stimuli* that affect the vital process, *with specific overt and affective responses* (e.g., of specific propagandic attack under certain circumstances, with specific types of counter-attack). Here again conditioning factors are significant.

(protective) *wariness of the incomprehensible* but powerful invader, and a *protective resentment* against fear of violence, deprivation, or contempt, were mingled with other attitudes in its original formation.

This general sketch of aversion to missions, may hold in many other cases.

> "Most of all this dispute [with respect to the Mohigan Land Case, in eastern U.S.] led Occom to see and to assert, as he did many times, that his people would never accept the Christian religion until they were treated with justice by their neighbors . . . .He believed that his tribe had been cheated, and doubtless he said so."[2]

> "There is a percentage of Europeans in India—soldiers, mechanics, shop assistants, business men, with a sprinkling even of professional men, army officers, and civilians—who continually shew contempt and hatred for Indians and speak of them as an inferior race, and who from time to time assault Indian servants and subordinates, and treat educated Indians with the grossest rudeness. This behaviour of a small minority of our fellow-countrymen, which at all times has produced very serious results, necessarily stirred the fiercest passions, when national feeling and Indian self-respect rose to flood-tide.
>
> "We must also frankly acknowledge that every piece of self-complacent, ill-informed, unsympathetic criticism of Indian religion, society, and life, whether written by tourist, missionary or official, helped to inflame the sense of wrong and to embitter the resentment which the imperial position of Britain necessarily creates."[3]

Sometimes these original provocative stimuli become imbedded in a law or creed, or are facilitated through sheer failure to provide machinery that will prevent misunderstandings.

> "Treaties were forced on the Empire [China] engaging it to new and unknown obligations. As regards one class of these, the commercial stipulations, much care was taken on both sides to provide machinery whereby the treaty provisions could be put in force smoothly . . .how much more was it necessary to provide for the operations of religious propagandism respecting which it was quite certain that there was no common intelligence between the parties! . . . .The Rev. G. T. Candlin in a letter

to the *Manchester Guardian*, has pointed out this defect in a very lucid manner, and he attributes much of the missionary troubles to that very cause. No consideration whatever was shown to the Chinese government which, ignorant of the plans by which the propaganda intended to fulfill this part of the treaty, was left to discover them gradually by the collisions between the evangelists and the officials and people. . . .

"Take for illustration the single item of the acquisition of sites and construction of buildings, the acknowledged source of three-fourths of all the missionary disturbances in China. . . .

". . . .The treaty Powers ought in fact to make good their great omission and, in concert with China, draw up 'Missionary Regulations' as they did Trade Regulations thirty-four years ago. . . .

". . . .The foreign powers, however, not only abstain from taking such initiative, but give a freezing reception to tentative proposals emanating from the Chinese government. The Memorandum of 1871 (Appendix II, in full) with all its faults, [is] the only attempt made as yet to bring about an amicable agreement, and the Powers to whom it was addressed have neither discussed it nor made any counter-proposals of their own."[4]

At other times, as in parts of China and Japan, the original provocative stimuli have ceased to function, the previous conditioned response-systems which they evoked have become partly disorganized, and the present response-systems of rejection have developed largely under circumstances where Christian missions have been perceived, classified, interpreted in a different way—they therefore comprise different sorts of stimuli.

Many elements in the settings of the acceptance and rejection of Christianity, are popularly *recognized as conditioning factors*, though not called by that name:

After discussing the relation of race characteristics and religious and moral influences to the spread of Christianity in Japan, the Report says:

"Other favourable factors are: the constitutional guarantee of religious liberty; the prevalence of the English tongue, with its Christianised literature; the alliance with Christian Britain; the recruiting of the first generation of Christian leaders from among the *Samurai*, with their culture and their capacity for

leadership; the intense national and individual ambition for progress; and the recognised insufficiency of material prosperity leading to the revival of the old faiths and the patronage of the *Hotoku* teachings of Ninomiya Sontoku, by the Government. . . .

"Other unfavourable factors are: the inherited suspicion of Christianity, ever since the proscription of the Portuguese missionaries; the contempt for religionists, bred by the corrupt lives of the Buddhist priests; the reinforcement of Confucian scepticism by the anti-Christian thought of the West; the growing circulation of baneful Russian and French literature; the heavy dependence hitherto upon foreign money for evangelization, so that ardent patriots have spurned Christianity as an alien propaganda; misunderstandings arising from ignorance of the Japanese language and customs on the part of some missionaries, or from Japanese sensitiveness; the extreme socialistic views of a few men who are generally regarded as Christians; the unexpectedly strong attachment of Japanese Christians to sectarian distinctions; the large number of derelict professing Christians; the godless lives of many Europeans in Oriental ports, and the apparent impotence of Christianity in the West to cure such evils as gross impurity, pauperism, domestic discord, industrial strife, international bitterness, and the race prejudice exhibited in connection with the anti-Oriental agitation; the rationalistic attack upon the person of Christ; the opposition of revived Buddhism and Shintoism; the struggle for wealth since the Russo-Japanese war, crowding out the study of Christian truth; and, finally, the self-confidence begotten by victory in war, making religion seem unnecessary."[5]

Valuable lists, in some respects, yet of use in our analysis only in so far as they indicate the relationship of each item to some reaction-system of approval, unconcern, or disapproval. The specific points of connection with the so-called exterior influences, especially the more innocuous or irrelevant-looking ones, are important. Take a very minor matter as a case in point. The presence of Indian Sikh policemen in the International Settlement of Shanghai and the rough treatment the Chinese often receive at their hands, for instance, would seem to have little connection with the attitude of any of the Chinese toward any phase of mission work. Yet they may have.

The children of a Sunday School in Shanghai showed a strange aversion to pictures and picture cards used in class show-

ing Jesus' dealings with Jewish elders. On inquiry it was discovered that the children identified the turbaned dignitaries in the pictures with the red-turbaned Sikh policemen of Shanghai who have been brought from India by the British and are known among the Chinese as "the red-headed foreign devils." The aversion to the Sikhs, though probably not transferred to the whole class-situation, yet was bound to affect the attention, thoughts, and affective reactions of the pupils to an appreciable extent.

Thus the tracing back of both stimulus and response to their antecedents and to contemporary circumstances associated with them, should be employed to explain immediate behavior.

INTERPRETATION OF INTERESTS-SATISFYING-URGES IN TERMS OF STIMULUS-RESPONSE SITUATIONS.—When the psychological setting has been laid bare and the connecting links have been found which account for the original formation of a given reaction-system of approval or disapproval, our major data can be presented in the most direct and simplified form. Whatever aid psychoanalytic or any other kind of hypotheses can give us in ferreting out these connecting links, should be utilized. But when once these links are discovered and presented as the matrix of the facts first observed, the analized situation-ensemble must be interpreted according to the functions it performs in the interests-meeting-needs (the interests providing-expression-for-bio-psychological-tendencies) process of the individual and the the group.

The precise way the treatment of data in terms of stimulus-and-response-situation-with-their-conditioning-factors, can be combined with interpretation in terms of the individual or group process (the interests-satisfying-urges process, of course), is easily seen. Take even the most difficult cases where unconscious aims and purposes definite yet different from those aims, accompany the overt gestures; e.g., where the behavior has the appearance of being partially display, decoy, or parry. When the data arouse suspicions of this sort we have to ask: Are the subjects merely playing for time during their uncertainty? Are they merely "spreading their feathers," and demonstrating their

power to overcome the intruders? Are they seriously attempting to ward off or to discredit the intruder? Etc. Heterogeneous clues reveal the basic bio-psychological or social situation: no general symptoms or recipe can be given for its investigation.

Behavior is usually complex and often has *both a rationalization and a double functional reference.* Beneath doctrinal refutation of the propagandist mentioned earlier (the rationalization) there may be a primary and even a conscious attempt to confuse and discredit him as an innovator (behavior referring to objects or persons outside of himself, behavior, therefore, with a functional out-reference); and accompanying this behavior there may be self-vindication, justifying the doctrines that have become a part of the self (referring to oneself, therefore, with a functional in-reference) and are now impugned. Or again, implicit in the overt verbal reaction (the rationalization) "we-have-gods-of our-own," there may be an attempt to discourage and get rid of the propagandist (out-reference, to cut off the outer source of irritation) and an accompanying assertion of self-esteem (in-reference, to reinforce a threatened source of urge satisfaction). Then, on inquiry, it may turn out that the priest normally gets his livelihood from the people's worship of those "gods-of-our-own." By warding off the intruder and rallying the other worshippers behind him he is protecting his economic interests as well as his personal status. (More subtle factors in the professional guardian's psychology may also come in—we hope to discuss some of them in a sketch of the propagandist in another volume.)

Thus, in significant typical studies, we must utilize overt responses, their supporting aims and attitudes, and the conditioning correlations back of them, in order to assess the condition of the vital process-situation fundamentally responsible for the reactions. And as investigation brings out concrete data and the bio-psychogical and social sciences classify more of *secondary tendencies and secondary interests* of the individual and of the group, these, too, may be used in the interpretation of reactions to propaganda along with the primary bio-psychological tendencies.

2. APPLICATION OF THE MOTIVATION POINT OF VIEW TO DIFFERENT TYPES OF REJECTION*

Interpretation of General Indifference (Failure-to-Respond).—Those closely observing Christian propaganda day by day may protest that in employing such a mode of approach in interpreting "the indifferent," at least, we are in danger of setting up straw men. We are liable, therefore, to read motives of protection or self-regard into actions where they do not operate at all. It should be readily admitted that the analyst may be liable to chatter about psychological stimuli, and the enthusiastic supporter of propaganda about the "deeper spiritual needs" requiring it. It is true that after hasty scrutiny, gestures or outward passivity may be interpreted as ominous signs when they are not. The essential thing is for us to get at *the cultural situation of any group and the psychological setting of any gesture*, if we are to understand them.

We grant, and on the basis of data, that probably *the mass of mankind* living in any sort of stable social relations, never have occasion to consider the propagandist's activity in relation to themselves unless he brings them tangible benefits or momentary pleasure.

> "The heathen Betshuans quite openly replied to Moffat, 'The new customs you preach cannot fill the stomach.' The Papuans used similar language to their missionaries."[6]

> " '. . . .Last Lord's day I sighed that we could not as yet get any of these children to school, but today I brought with me a few letters of the alphabet thinking they might amuse them and that thus they could at the same time be initiated, though but slowly, into the mystery of speaking their own language out of books, as they see me do every Lord's Day. The simple-hearted children were quite pleased with this new art, and soon blocked me up in their midst to see me point to the moon-like O and the serpent-like S. Although the men and women were at liberty to go away after service, yet they remained to see these

*In order to present a comprehensive perspective in the following sections, there is necessarily some repetition of preceding analyses.

wonderful letters. When I was about to return home some of the poor children fell on their faces to thank me for teaching them the white Man's Book.'"[7]

They live under conditions of relative security: they have a definite place in society's esteem or attention; they have all the activity their constitutions and ordinary mental energy seem to require; and if their family conditions are relatively satisfactory, the only thing they are accustomed to think much about is livelihood and leisure.* Take away their means of getting these and you will have a feud on your hands; offer them anything that may bring a surer, easier, and better livelihood, and they will listen to sermons they scarcely regard as interesting, memorize school books they don't see any sense in, sell goods over a counter in some foreigner's strange shop, or, let their children do these things, without a word of protest.

"Why then send our girls to mission schools? It is, I think, unwise. But some of us are so convinced of the importance of education that we are driven to take what we can get."[8]

A child may consent to do these things at his parents' behest for lesser prospects, for a little new experience or because other children he knows are doing them. For a practical material gain, man will do almost anything. From this point of view there is some truth in Warneck's statement that "Heathenism cannot be reached from the moral side."[9]

It follows necessarily that an innovation in customs, either by their own people or by outsiders, *must usually affect that appetite interest* if it is to be considered by them in more than the most casual and superficial way—*unless of course it actually does disturb the general stability of their lives and the existing machinery for satisfying their other basic needs.*

"What's the use of worshipping a good god? He won't hurt you! Just worship the evil so they won't hurt you!"

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*Wilhelm Wundt's comments on "the limited nature of the wants of primitive man" and the "fixity of conditions" actually affecting him, are apropos here. *Elements of Folk Psychology*, 110-111.

was the usual comment of lower caste people of India among whom one informant worked.[10]

Except under extraordinary conditions, propaganda is likely to be regarded as a "show-come-to-town," the work of a "peculiar-sort-of-benevolent-crank," a strange harmless scheme that may have some good for us and yet may have some harm in it.

As a Chinese, familiar with the Classics, remarked to the writer: "The people I often hear ask in the shops, 'Why does the missionary come? He doesn't seem to be getting money out of the Chinese.' 'For his Doctrine,' the others reply. 'We don't know his heart but he seems to be here for "the glory of God," to spread it. We teach virtue and righteousness, too. But he doesn't do any harm, apparently.' Some say, 'It is all right—it is good.' Others, 'We have a Doctrine and we have virtue! Why should we care for foreign Doctrine?' "[11]

Regardless of the number of mankind who correspond to this description, it is they whom we regard as "indifferent: failing-to-respond." The essential passivity, the meager amount of restlessness, and the failure to regard harmless events as affecting their welfare—these are the characteristics of communities satisfying their bio-psychological needs by relatively adequate interests.

Among *the educated* classes the basic situation is different in this respect: there are more secondary interests. Indifference among them would merely mean that the activities and advantages offered by the propagandist did not seem to them to dislodge or to supplement either their primary or their secondary interests in any important manner. In the Near or Indian East, informants often stress satisfaction with their religious interests, for instance, so long as Christianity did not assail them and arouse resentment. In Japan we frequently have satisfaction with the lack of religion.

". . . . .There are many educated persons who would perhaps class most of the teachings of Christianity among human superstitions and totally unnecessary for moral greatness. ([Footnote:] Professor Okakura says: 'We do not see any convincing reason why morals should be based upon the teaching of a

special denomination, in face of the fact that we can be upright and brave without the help of a creed with a God or deities at its other end.' Prince Ito says, on the same subject: 'I regard religion itself as quite unnecessary for a nation's life. Science is far above superstition; and what is religion, Buddhism or Christianity, but superstition, and, therefore, a possible source of weakness to a nation? I do not regret the tendency to free thought and atheism, which is almost universal in Japan, because I do not regard it as a source of danger to the community.'—*Japan Weekly Mail*, Oct. 5, 1907.)"[12]

Among both the rank and file and the educated, indifference means that habitual customs, beliefs, and sentiments are functioning in accordance with the "laws of use and effect," to use Thorndike's terminology, so as to give them the "satisfyingness of success" that precludes restlessness or sensitiveness to propagandic stimuli.

The biological counterpart of this insusceptibility is suggestive enough to call to mind. If, in the case of an animal, a stimulus takes effect at all, if it finds sensitive tissue, if it breaks through the skin and into the flesh, there will be irritation, accumulation of excitation, and then spasms of reaction "discharging" energy and emotion. On the other hand, if the senses are not susceptible to what is going on in the environment, there is no such thing as a stimulus. That is the failure-to-respond situation, biologically speaking. It is in the light of such a conception of a normally or satisfactorily functioning organism, individual, or community that any specific instance of failure-to-respond to propagandic innovation, must be interpreted.

Interpretation of General Passive and Active Opposition.—Resistance, or, passive opposition, has been roughly defined as inner adjustment for defense rather than overt thrust at the opponent; the latter has been called active opposition. Thus far, from the first mention of passive opposition on through the proposal of urge categories, many salient examples have been noted of intra-group adjustments for building up greater resistance. The apologetic revamping of one's theological *raison d'etre*, the raising of a staff of educated leaders, the imita-

tion of the missionary's technique for improving the lot of one's own people in one's own way, are a few of them. Obviously they are closely related to competitive devices employed in indirect counter-attack; they in turn, closely related to recrimination and verbal defense; and they in turn to violence, fanaticism, and legal prohibition. It is noteworthy that the former savor particularly of retreating and fear reactions; the latter of attacking and angered reactions. In a host of different ways, all *these responses are aimed at keeping out of the power of the innovator and making one's own status secure*—the resistance to accepting a lowered esteem is often very important. They are aimed at preventing the outsider from lessening the values of the insiders by setting forth his own values as superior, and thus weakening their attachment to them. They are aimed at preventing the outsider from disorganizing them as individuals or as a group, from slowly undermining them, and then, when they are weakened, from getting them into his power. From their point of view, it is a struggle for partial control, for greater or less autonomy, even, where groups are concerned, for life and death as groups.

Quite naturally, if the propagandist does not make demands upon the people among whom he settles, no such dire interpretation is put upon his purchasing land and supplies, his beneficences, his stories and his oratory. He may not even be regarded as under the protection of foreign rifles and men-of-war. In the islands of the Pacific, in the villages and tribes of Asia and Africa, among the religious movements of India, the missionary is often allowed to go on with his work for weeks, months, and even years without serious molestation. Characteristically indifferent, the native peoples do not oppose until they realize that the missionary's success means eventually the surrender of certain inclusive aspects of their way of living, certain bases of their present organization and power.

Here is the individual, opposing after years of toleration:—

". . . .This lassie was one whom Ramabai had adopted as her own. Her mother, a Gujerathi widow, was living the life of a temple woman in Bombay (a 'holy' Hindu harlot). A prominent Hindu reformer in Bombay, editor of a newspaper, sent the girl to Ramabai to save her from her mother's fate. But when he heard that the girls were becoming Christians, he joined in the popular outcry, and incited her mother, vile as she was, to claim her daughter. He was only one of many who plainly showed that they would rather see Hindu girls become harlots than Christians."[13]

And here, the group also, opposing after prolonged toleration:—

After a few year's work on Tanna Island and the gathering of quite a number of converts, opposition cumulated throughout the island:

". . . .At length a fiendish plot was brought to light. It had been decided by the Heathen to attack us."

". . . .We found that one of the instigators of this plot was Iauhnam, a member of the Candidates' Class, though I had long had doubts as to his sincerity. . . .

". . . .It was because they now realized fully how utterly opposed the Gospel was to their evil conduct, and that they must fight it to the death or yield to it."[14]

This social disorganization is what Coomaraswamy, the Chinese literati, and the Japanese leaders of the Kato type were talking about.

Here is where the *struggle* develops into one *for the existence of the status quo as a scheme for the satisfying of cogent needs.* It has been so among individuals and in almost every community, one might say, though some few communities have been favorable from the first.

The Moslem's traditionalized technique of opposition, defense, propaganda (including "Methods and Interpretations Employed by Propagandists"), and more "Special Group Attitudes" toward other religions, discussed earlier in Chapters IV-VI, seem to be a deposit from an ancient and prolonged contest for standing, power, and control. Similarly, specialized attitudes of antagonism to Christianity found among religions and peoples more recently "awakened" by the exploitation

of Western economic, military, and religious agents—these, too, are plainly the result of the struggle for self-preservation and self-esteem in more recent times.

With that rough perspective of the disapproving situation tentatively in mind, we turn to *the bio-psycho-social process* which envisages the situation in a more fundamental way. From this point of view, then, either the individual and group processes are operating satisfactorily, or they are not. Their equilibriums will be decidedly disturbed by a discrediting of the group's name, a weakening of loyalty on the part of its members, a lapse or violation of its customs, disbelief in its doctrines—anything detracting from the group or lessening its hold upon its members.* Remember that whenever any innovation becomes an occasion for group reactions, the condition with regard to the entire reach of primary and secondary interests must be analyzed, if possible, before any final conclusion is warranted as to the cause of particular responses. From the standpoint of our own analysis, important considerations are destruction of the protective technique which the group has provided against invisible (spirits) and visible forces, interference with group activities, and deprivation of any of the facilities the group has provided for the satisfaction of the physical appetites and self-regard.

If a given group is a subordinate one within a more inclusive national or racial group, where the appetite interest is satisfied without any aid from the subordinate group and where protection from physical harm is assured by a separate civil or military organization, then the effects of disorganization will be correspondingly narrowed. In the case of a religious sect the effects

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*Occasionally, diagnoses by promoters and rejectors, regardless of whether they are accurate, seem implicitly to take this into consideration. For instance, Samuel G. Wilson says:

". . . .The reasons for this [Moslem] awakening were partly religious, arising from regret for the low condition of the Faith; and partly political, from chagrin on account of the weakness and inferiority of Mohammedan peoples and determination to yield no further to the influence or pressure of Christian governments." (*Modern Movements Among Moslems*, 53.)

will usually concern to a major degree the protective technique mitigating uncertainty in relations with the unknown and invisible world, and self regard in relation to the sect's integrity, unity, prestige, and status. If the subordinate group is a family, community, or caste, the fundamental interests which the group organization serves, must be taken into account in each case; and any special secondary interests or peculiar development of the primary ones, must be watched for. Disintegration at these fundamental and special points means extinction of the group—and against any serious threat of that, the alive group will fight with all the protective devices it can marshall.

This contention warrants further illustration. For, the fallacy of many discussions of causes or of professed causes of opposition, lies in the comparative neglect of the importance of this disorganization-or-disintegration-in-the-group-process. The possibility of that situation, however, should always be kept n mind.

The *new belief*, the doctrine of the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man, was not objected to by the Hindu simply because, apart from its likeness to other ideas he held, it was in no way destructive of any of his group bonds or values: it merely added something to his self-esteem and doubtless other satisfactions. The new Bible, its teachers, and Habeeb its incipient disciple were hated, despised, and forcibly driven out of that little Syrian community, on the other hand, because they gave allegiance to a new authority, thus putting aside, tacitly condemning, and disrupting the *religious organization* of the town with its monopoly over the means of protection against dangers of the unknown world and with its enhancement of self-regard through status in the invisible world (not to speak of the self-feeling of the religious leaders expressed in maintaining their sense of power).

When a Chinese becomes a Chrisian, the institutionalized *worship of his ancestors* is one of the things strictly prohibited. Now this honored custom is the aleatory ceremonial envisaging and symbolizing the core of the family, viz., family allegiance,

family continuity, family supremacy over the individual. The parents and relatives of the prospective convert to Christianity, therefore, see him lost from the fold and their entire family stronghold threatened in this new venture, and they will oppose it to the last. The almost inevitable mingling of self-feeling with urge toward group self-protection is seen here, as in the previous case: one's children are psychologically a part of the self, and allowing them to escape from the grip of mores that actually guarantee their safety (from the standpoint of group mores and conduct norms), may be endangering one's very self to pain, loss, and torture.

The same function accrues in a different way to *caste in India*, to *allegiance to the Emperor in Japan*, and to *tribal organization in Africa*.

> For example, ". . . .The tribes of Africa are organised generally upon the basis of despotic rule, and among them there is found a prejudice against Christianity on the ground that it destroys the power and influence of the chiefs, that men who become Christians are rebels against their native superiors, and that it is impossible to live consistent Christian lives while maintaining the inherited connection with the native authorities."[15]

Particularly is it impossible for customs or beliefs elaborately woven into *the general mores that provide group or social solidarity*, to be abandoned without weakening the whole structure.

> "To a girl in such a school [a missionary school] one of three things happens: either she is true to the ideals of the home, and so absolutely out of sympathy with her teachers; or she is converted and regards her parents as ignorant idolaters; or she pretends conversion for the sake of certain material advantages. Sometimes she is persuaded that both the religion of her parents and the new religion intended to replace it are alike superstitions. (With young men this happens oftener.) In neither case is she 'educated,' in the sense of being given the freedom of her own natural culture, the only true standpoint from which she can, in relation to a wider world, educationally 'find herself.' She is demoralised ('unmannered') and rendered less, not more fit to take her place in life amongst her own people."[16]

And those customs or beliefs that are central in the system of group or social control, either in themselves or by means of the aleatory element they employ, *require a complete reorganization of control if they are weakened and lose their power. Security must be shifted to another type of control organization: (i) new protective technique must be devised as tools of the protective responses, and (ii) new interests acquired to satisfy the other basic needs as they were satisfied before.*

On the one hand, thus, the weakening, shifting, and reorganizing of individual life and of group or general social control, means that the self-protective urge is separated from the culture traits to which it was linked: confusion, excitement, and tension are felt; and the urge manifests itself in the direct innate expression of fear, rage, and random forms of self-protection.

> This condition is seen in a mild way in the case of one African chieftain who had already seen enough of the experiment with the alien innovations to make him take back his promise to give a mission site "and a school where the children might be taught the white man's book." He gave Bishop Crowther these as his reasons: The people would get lazy and would not work. His son would no more kneel before the elders, but would shake hands —which had been punishable by death! Again, he said that some natives who went to Liverpool and Portugal "to know the book," had never returned. In short, "he had better wait after this generation of old men had passed, then the younger men can do what they like."[17]
>
> The more complex culture-systems have shown the same thing:
>
> "Another and perhaps the greatest hindrance of all to the acceptance of Christianity, is its foreign origin. The Chinese are proud of their long past, their mighty empire, their great sages and their colossal literature. They are 'heirs of all the ages, foremost in the files of time.' The acceptance of an alien creed would be a reflection on their sages and a confession of inferiority. 'It would also involve,' as Dr. Arthur H. Smith says, 'a complete break with the glorious past. For it is felt that if a part goes there can be no stopping the avalanche. Hence Confucianists, once full of mild ridicule for the assumptions of Christianity, have within more recent years been filled with wild alarm as they see foundations slipping which had been supposed to be for ever unmovable."[18]

The inability of the group to ward off misfortune, or to alleviate uncertainty as to ill-luck, other-worldly punishment, etc., in the usual reliable ways is keenly felt by all those in the group who do not regard the traits of the innovating religion as technique sufficient to protect them against such dangers. The unconverted father not having apprehended the new religion as a new type of control and of protective technique, thinks the son deluded, un-anchored on strange and treacherous seas. Japanese patriots, seeing no satisfactory means of control in Christianity's operation, feel that their Empire would be disrupted by it.

On the other hand, the weakening and shifting of group controls means that the matrices of self-respect, and to some extent, of self-expression, are broken into. Their former activities, beliefs, and sentiments, or the culture traits and possessions embodying them—some of them, at least,—have been unlinked from the basic needs for expression and esteem. The unconverted father typifies this: he does not regard the new religion as a new means of adequate expression or adequate self-respect for himself—though he may not at all so define his inner feelings to himself. The above excerpt upon China shows the same thing on a much larger scale.

Now the crucial stage in the conflict between a group and the innovators, comes when the group is convinced that they are disorganizing it and intend to disrupt it, propagandizing with that aim and that result. When the Buddhists see that Christianity is committed to supplanting their religion, when the castes of India realize that they are being purposely undermined, when national groups see that their culture and social organization are marked for partisan renovation—then, all the functions performed by their group seem to be at stake, and the basic protective responses are acutely aroused. The centering of opposition upon this clear-cut issue of destroying the organization of a group, is so well illustrated in Coomaraswamy's *Essays in National Idealism* that we quote him at some length:

"In India any man may preach any doctrine even upon the temple doorstep. He may believe what he will, if only his practice do not undermine the structure of organized society."

"A most clear recognition of the true character of missionary activity, and a most determined resistance to its aims and methods are needed now. The author of 'Holy Himalya' writes: 'The true friends of India are those who would change its root ideas . . .the bogey of religious neutrality . . .will have to be laid to a considerable extent . . . else in the end we shall have to make the confession that we, as a nation have no rational objects in India beyond commercialism and exploitation.'

"It has been well said that the Nonconformist conscience is the greatest barrier to Indian freedom!

"In a recent number of the *School Guardian*, the editor refers to the *Church Missionary Society's* school at Sringar as follows: '1,400 boys—mostly Hindus and a large proportion of them of high caste—are being changed from superstitious, cowardly, idle, and untruthful beings into manly Christians.'

"As a commentary on these characteristic statements, and in illustration of the effects of the policy they reflect, the following extract is given here from an article by Lala Har Dyal:

" 'The missionary is the representative of a society, a polity, a social system, a religion and a code of morality which are totally different from our time-honoured customs and institutions, our sacred literature and traditions, our historical memories and associations. He wishes to give us a new name, a new place of worship, a new set of social laws. He has declared war to the knife against everything Hindu. He hates all that we hold dear. Our religion is to him a foolish superstition; our customs are the relic of barbarism; our forefathers are to him black heathens condemned to burn in the fires of hell for ever. He wishes to destroy our society, history, and civilization. Our Shastras, Darsanas, and Vedas are for him so much waste paper. He regards them as monstrous machines devised by misguided priests to prepare millions for damnation in the next world. He condemns our manners, pooh-poohs our holy lore, laughs at our heroes and heroines and paints us as black as the devil to the whole civilized world. He is the great enemy of the Hindu people—the Principle of Anti-Hinduism Incarnate—the Ravana of today who hates all that we cherish, despises all that we revere, all that we are prepared to defend with our very lives. . . .

" 'He looks forward to the time when the Smritis shall be unknown to the descendants of present-day Hindus, and the Ram Lila shall have become a meaningless word in their ears. . . . He is the arch enemy who appears in many guises, the great foe of whatever bears the name of Hindu, the ever-watchful, ever-active, irreconcilable Destroyer of the work of the Rishis and Maha Rishis, of that marvel of moral, intellectual and civic achievement which is known as Hindu civilization. Let us labour under no delusions on this point. You may forget your own name; you may forget your mother. But do not for a moment forget the great, all-important, outstanding fact that the missionary is the most dreadful adversary you have to meet. . . the greatest enemy of dharma and Hindu national life in the present age.'

"In these words there may be exaggeration—they do not apply throughout to the work of every missionary; but there is nevertheless essential truth; and it is resistance in this spirit which missionaries must expect in the future, if they persist in their mistaken aims and methods."[19]

The poignancy of these protests against a group disorganization undermining the foundations of general security, comes from more than one bio-psychological need, to recapitulate. They are first of all protective responses aroused by fear of being weakened if not of being annihilated. They are also protests against deprivation of other fundamental satisfiers and re-assertion of other urges connected with them. The re-assertion of self-feeling is prominent. It shows that at least in the highly conscious and reflective sections of any people whose group organization is at stake, the self-sentiment seems always organized closely with the different interests meeting other needs of the group life.

INTERPRETATION OF PROFESSED RESPONSES TO "MAGICO-RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF THE (ALIEN) MORES."—We return now from these general comments to certain of the typical non-approving reactions we observed in Chapters V and VI. Space prevents going over them in detail to differentiate rationalization from scientific explanation; to note verbal or ideational reactions, gestures, and non-overt affective responses; and to comment on interpretations of all of them in terms of the bio-

psychological or social process. It will suffice, we take it, if we examine specimens of non-approval situations to which attention has been called. The "Magico-Religious Aspects of the Mores" was one of the first factors mentioned as provoking rejection. It was a prominent issue. What, then, is the relation it bears to other verbal or ideational responses, overt gestures, and affective reactions? What is the dynamic or psychological setting of this issue in specific cases? What is the functional significance of it in the bio-psychological process?

The criticism of the propagandist's religion and the raising of objections to missions on religious grounds, are responses attributed to peoples where religion is more or less differentiated as a specific aspect of the mores, not to primitive peoples in religio-civil groups. In the self-sufficient culture group of "primitive" man, everybody is religious but nobody knows it, one might say: participation in public ceremonies is as obligatory upon every individual as doing one's part toward defense in case of tribal war; and the private use of magico-religious rites is regarded as unquestionably efficacious if the proper conditions of rapport are attained. The interloper and the alien propagandist are looked upon simply as men of different customs—that phrase implying customs with their magico-religious as well as their technological aspects. The acceptance or rejection of an outsider's religion alone and not of his customs *in toto*, does not occur to such peoples. Proselytism as known in the Occident is simply incomprehensible to them, as we have seen.

It must be remembered also that this linking up of religious with other aspects of culture is frequently found in the "less cultured" sections of highly developed peoples as we indicate elsewhere. In the illustrative material given from Eastern peoples there have been many evidences of the assumption among Asiatics that accepting a foreign religion means accepting a whole foreign culture—altogether apart from and prior to evidences that Christianity's mores require specific alterations in many culture traits.

How this essentially primitive point of view functions in both approving and non-approving behavior toward Christian propaganda and how far it is overcome by contact with the propagandists, is a distinct problem worth investigation. Sometimes, for example, a primitive African, a Dravidian, or a "Kanaka" enters the foreign worship because he thinks it restores his health at a time when his own magical practices are unable to do so. The question is, what complex of customs does such an individual think that he is accepting? Does he at once assume that whatever in the foreigner's mores is different from his own custom, is linked to the alien religion—and therefore is to be accepted? If so, a man similarly situated who rejects the "foreign worship" also assumes that in so doing he is rejecting a whole custom-matrix as well as the ceremonial part of it. Obviously we are concerned here with relevant actions, beliefs, and sentiments, with the psychological setting of the immediate reaction; and we require knowledge of the cultural setting of non-Christian (and hence, by direct transfer of interpretations, of alien-religious) practices restoring health. Aside from these more obscure but important matters, the primary source of motivation in this particular case seems to be the pressure of bodily suffering—the protective tendency.

Among the more sophisticated members of the complex culture groups, in contrast to less sophisticated ones and primitive people, let us note Moslem and Hindu reactions before making any further suggestions toward analyses. Among both, religion, or at least certain features of religion, may be discriminated at the very first meeting with the foreign religionists. Oftentimes, the Moslem easily conceives of difference in religion as over against difference in other aspects of one's culture. He himself proselytes. Along with this difference in the associational setting of propaganda which per se might be favorable to the acceptance of an exotic religion, usually his self-regard is so bound up with Islam that to accept Christianity would be to abandon indispensable supports to his self-regard.

> The Edinburgh Report claims: "Mohammedans regard Christianity with contempt as an antiquated religion which Allah has set aside and replaced by Islam. Moreover, they are proud of the tradition of their splendid day of supremacy in India and their claim to the dominion of the world."[20]
>
> It was referred to earlier that the Report also claims:
> "On the borderland between the moral and intellectual hindrances is the Moslem's pride in his own religion, in the Arabian language as the language of heaven. As one of the intellectual hindrances, may be regarded his belief in the infallibility of the Koran, which is not only placed above the Gospel, but in comparison with which even the Gospel does not count."[21]

Aside from other considerations, his protective responses will be excited against interference with the present degree of satisfaction of this basic need, until some alternative means of self-regard is felt adequate. Of course religion's primitive function of safeguarding man from the aleatory element in life, has a large place in Islam; and to the extent that the Christian religion is not realized as equally powerful in its other-worldly and magical benefits, Christian propaganda will evoke protective technique on that account also. Practical analysis of the cultural setting or functioning of Islam well reveal other elements also.

It is commonly reported that high caste Hindus and other Orientals are fundamentally tolerant. Some are, as we have seen in discussing "Connivance and Passive Cooperation" in Chapter I, section 5, and "Indifference" in Chapter IV, section 1. To illustrate further, however:

> Lahiri is reported to have said:
> ". . . .I fear also that there is a spirit of hostility entertained by the Society [the Brahmo Samaj] against Christianity which is not creditable. Our desire should be to see truth triumph. Let the votaries of all religions appeal to the reason of their fellow-creatures, and let him who has truth on his side prevail."[22]

Some accept Christianity as far as beliefs in Jesus' conception of the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God is concerned, but will not join the Christian's ecclesiastical organization nor abandon the customs conflicting with Christian mores.

" 'Opposition arises [in India], not in regard to doctrine, but in the relation of doctrine to life. The doctrine of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man finds ready acceptance in the mind. It is only when the attempt is made to apply that to practical living that real opposition arises. In the same way the conception of the oneness of God never arouses opposition: it is only when its acceptance involves the neglect of idol worship that the opposition becomes pronounced' (B. Lucas)."[23]

Others, we are told, assent to more of the Christian theology.

"The difficulties of Christianity to Christians are not difficulties to the Hindu. He is perfectly familiar with the idea that God can be triune; that God may reveal himself to man in humble form; that a being may be at once man and God, and both completely; that the Divine man may be the true exemplar, though separated from man by His whole Divinity; and that sin may be wiped off by a supreme sacrifice. These are the ideas that the missionaries teach, and the majority of the Hindus would affirm that they were perfectly reasonable and in accordance with the general and Divinely originated scheme of things."[24]

In fact, they have no sectarian taboo nor immediate aversion to professing beliefs in Christian as well as other religions, all at one time.

Among the majority of non-primitive groups some of the norms or beliefs of innovating Christianity are subscribed to by many sub-groups or persons. On the surface there seems to be a tolerance among them quite inconsistent with opposition to Christian preaching. India is accustomed to new religious teachers, and Holderness asserts that any new religious teacher there can gain a hearing and a following.[25] Farquhar's data from the last century is certainly confirmatory.* The same thing, more or less, is claimed for Japan and China, though the mystical element may be less prominent than in India.

"Shintoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism are so blended in Japan that the common people generally believe in all three religions without clearly distinguishing one from the other."[26]

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*Take for instance his sketch of the rise of the Ahmadiyas of Qadian or any of a score of other sects. *Op. cit.*, 137-147, etc.

" '. . . .The Rev. T. Takahashi, Pastor of Gifu Church, writes: 'The so-called Western forms do not present themselves as Western forms. Whilst recognizing that the Bible contains much that is similar in form to what is found here in the Far East, the fact that we have three religions with more or less different forms of expression prepares us to expect and accept what may be thought peculiar in the Christian religion.' "[27]

Qualifying this assertion in part, is the position of men like Dr. J. Takagi presented in an aritcle on "The Future of Christianity in Japan" in *Kaitakusha* ("Pioneer"). He takes a strong stand against theological and ceremonial aspects of Christianity, just as Uchimura and others do against all institutional aspects of it.[28]

When, then, does the religious aspect of the mores constitute an occasion for opposition among, let us say, educated Japanese or high-caste Indians? Our hypothesis as to the essential nature of the individual and group processes would suggest an opposing response when the results of propaganda endanger the present satisfaction of certain bio-psychological urges, or, endanger the circumstances, possessions, customs, sentiments, or beliefs, functioning as satisfiers—either one or all taken as a whole. That is an important problem on which concrete data must be examined and freshly gathered, from our point of view.

In the meantime, there are two suggestive positions, one missionary and native Christian, and the other anti-missionary, which seem to throw light on the problem. The first is involved in the experience of a growing number of Christian leaders supporting or engaging in the Christian propaganda, represented in Mr. Bernard Lucas' books and in more liberal statements. They claim—to paraphrase a statement by one of the more liberal—that Christianity is a spirit of understanding, considerateness, and readiness to aid, as found in Jesus' life; is an attitude toward life and humanity, on the one hand, and toward the universe as guarantee of that attitude, on the other; is not certain fixed forms of custom, code, belief, rite, and organization. When Christianity is actually represented to high class Hindus as anything like this, Lucas claims, it does not stir up opposition. In

all non-Christian lands the medical missionary work, acknowledged as representing the very genius of Christianity and of the founder of Christianity, is always welcome, still others assert, and is the supreme testimony to the non-Christian of the disinterested and pure representation of real Christianity. The same is true of other non-ecclesiastical, non-theological types of evangelism.*

The "anti-missionary" position is well represented by the writings of Mr. Ananda Coomaraswamy, one of the most noted of the non-Christian nationalists defending the culture of the East. He exhibits an attitude typical of the more restrained position which advocates tolerance in some cases and opposition in others. Against the non-ecclesiastical evangelism-of-the-Christian-spirit he has no word of protest.†

*". . . .[Male; conversion age, 18.] 'I told my friend that Jesus was a great *guru* like Sankaracharya or Buddha. . . .While I thus became an admirer of Jesus and his ethical teachings, I was still a staunch Hindu.'" (Annett, 114).

According to Timothy Richard of China, the ablest literary man in Shansi Province in 1880 when told by him that the point was not conforming to ceremonies but "whether you are willing to promote the Kingdom of God on earth, and help uplift your fellow-men," said, "Ah! I am with you there." (Richard, 166.)

Under the caption "Can Japan be Christianized?" Zumoto, a Japanese editor, declares that if Christianity will only be tolerant, it may share with Buddhism the moulding of Japan. (Kawakami, chap. xiii, reprinted from *Herald of Asia* of October, 1920.)

†"Any man may prophesy; the African fetish-worshipper has a right to speak if he feels a call to witness to the truth within him. He has no right to complain if he is not heard. So with the Christian; he may ask, as a Salvationist is said to have done, 'Friend, how is your soul?'; but if he receives the answer, 'Thank ye, pretty well. Sir, how is yours?' he cannot be surprised, and ought not to be shocked. Still less ought he to proceed by force, social influence, or bribery to coerce the answerer's convictions; least of all by insidious means to undermine his children's faith in himself and his belief. Such considerations do not weigh with the Christian missionary.

"The Hindu and the missionary conceptions of toleration are poles apart. The missionary is bent upon destroying heathendom; there probably could not be found a Hindu desirous of destroying Christianity." (Coomaraswamy, 131.)

"It is a debated question whether there has ever been serious religious persecution in India; it is certain that it has been the regular practice of Buddhist, Hindu and some Muhammadan rulers, not merely to tolerate, but to support all sects alike. Such tolerance the missionary uses to spread his own intolerance. His aim is to win souls for Christ; and for him no other duty, principle or right can be allowed to interfere with his effort to accomplish this end." (*Ibid.*, 136).

"Is there to be no salvation then for the Christian missionary, no place found for him in our ideal? Not quite so, perhaps. No church or sect can presume to say that its presentation of Divinity to man is complete or perfect. . . .

". . . .Let them in this spirit help us both to restore, and to build upon the religious ideals of the past, not to destroy them; and, so coming, they will not lack a welcome from a people so serious and so religious as the people of India." (*Ibid.*, 157.)

His contentions are apparently motivated by one or two considerations. He seems to be one of a people amongst whom different religious groups get along together only by observing certain customs of mutual sufferance and competition. To such the Christian missionary body is an outside group; moreover, it intrudes among the other groups and at the same time refuses to abide by the customs regulating their mutual relations. Thus, instead of becoming one more group under an orderly tolerant regime (when it is such), the Christian group seeks to undermine the entire regime as well as the separate groups within it. Furthermore, what these groups regard as the very core of their pride and heritage is impugned and cast aside. The opposition here is evidently toward the threatening of whatever fundamental interests are provided by the existence and the technique of the non-Christian groups, and of the customs regulating their relations. Along such lines, at least, interpretation of opposition by the ordinarily tolerant Asiatic seems valid. And these, with the contentions of the few liberal missionaries and native Christians, provide a distinct clue toward interpreting reactions to the "Magico-Religious Aspects of the (Alien) Mores."

This suggestion carries with it no denial of the fact that specific elements in Christianity may be extraneous to the interests of non-Christians and therefore incapable of arousing any response but rejection: the bio-psychological needs of the non-Christian group may be met by other "forms," other beliefs, other behavior than that called for by Christianity.

> "Three years ago a Japanese Christian gave, in Tokyo, an address on 'Christianity and Modern Japanese Thought.' He said that the form of Christian truth most easily assimilated by present-day Japanese thinkers is the moral and social code of Christianity. They will readily understand if you say that God is Creator, or that heaven is order; but a God with personality is an idea hard for them to grasp. . . ."[29]

(Neither here nor anywhere in this study, of course, are we making social-ethical comparisons, or, judgments as to the comparative value of different social-ethical norms. We are merely

attempting the preliminary work of explanatory description.) The whole field of the conflicting mores discussed in Chapter V under "Difference in Mores," is involved here.

A patent, and at the same time most illuminating, fact about the religious and other aspects of differing mores considered there under the "Plausible Reasons for Rejection," is that reactions may be patently antithetical or contradictory on many points. At one time "Sheer Alien-ness" is objected to; at another time it is not. At one time, the fact that Christians come with a different "magico-religious" system is objected to; at another, it is not. The same is true of "Specific Mores," even of hygienic-economic changes and of specific beliefs. The christian doctrine of God may repel some polytheists and attract others. *All depends upon the cultural setting of the relevant non-Christian practice, upon the supposed ramifications of the immediate innovation, upon the actual consequences of it.*

> "In those days [in the seventies and eighties], to be a Christian was to incur much more odium than is incurred by a pronounced atheist in England, for when you have gotten rid of nine hundred and ninety-nine gods out of a thousand, the remaining one brings you very near to atheism."[30]

> "The writer once asked a circle of Korean Christians what it was in the Christian religion that had first laid hold on them, and was answered by a thoughtful leader, 'Its teaching of one God'; and all present at once assented to this as a primary attraction. It had come as the best of news to them that instead of the ten thousand spirits whom they had been seeking to conciliate, they had to do with one Most High Lord of heaven and earth."[31]

It is *an interpretation in terms of functioning individual or group interests* that must be used to explain the anomaly of such apparent contradiction.

And even where reactions of both non-Christian polytheists and monotheists appear to be similar on a specific point, this likeness also may prove superficial upon adequate analysis: The opposition of those "Animists" who say that they canno

become such atheists as to give up all but one God (the triuneness of God is not emphasized by missionaries among them, apparently!) is due in part to the feelings of magico-religious security and certainty, and possibly prosperity and community standing, which would be sacrificed by giving up the multitude of gods. Undoubtedly religious practices of magical manipulation and worship bound up with the belief, represent those conservative feelings. But more accurate and complete data will be necessary before the motivation of their antagonism can be dissected further. The opposition of Mohammedans to the Triune God of orthodox Christianity on the contrary, is very likely due, not, first of all, to fear that they would lose anything in becoming unfaithful to the Holy Prophet, but rather to the feeling that concessions of any kind to a Christian are unworthy of a follower of Allah and the great Mohammed. There seems to be no question but that self-esteem is central in this historic attitude, organized probably with instinctive attempt-at-mastery, jealousy, and other expressive tendencies. Of course, the aleatory protective responses may be called into play, just as in the case of the more primitive religions.

These suggestions toward ferreting out the cultural setting, the psychological setting, the whole dynamic bio-psychological setting, if you will, of the religious aspects of Christian propaganda have been accompanied by only sufficient illustration to make them clear. Those who go through the volume for relevant cases, will probably see much more significance in these suggestions, for they have grown out of that material. At best, comprehensive accurate accounts of gestures, speech, and emotion which have functional relations with a specific response, are rare. The next section concentrates on these relations in and of themselves in the case of vested interests.

INTERPRETATION OF THE DYNAMIC SETTING OF VESTED INTERESTS.—The influence of "Professional Guardianship and Other Vested Interests" (Chapter VI, section 4) in bringing about non-approving responses, is one of the most important factors to be reckoned with because of its relative secrecy, often

intentional, among certain kinds of groups. Frequently, among more advanced peoples, one of the conditions of its influence is the hiding, screening, or camouflaging of the mechanism for maintaining that influence. Where the mechanism for acquiring or retaining influence can be designated as "patriotic," "for the group's good," or "demanded by (the group's) moral principles," that is usually done because it gets the rank and file of the group behind it. For a priest to claim that the levied contribution which supports him and his confreres first of all, is a "gift to our God"; for him to claim that opposition to an innovating sect that would inevitably dislodge him is "a service to our god"—such maneuvering may be consciously devised with the intent of maintaining his own position, but it is likely to be conformity with a technique traditionalized by long practice and applied merely with a sense of its necessity for the position of himself and the entire group together. Both possibilities should be in mind in any analysis. They are familiar in all restricted groups. But when the leaders of Nipponese, Islamic, or Western groups maintain press censorship, allow only partial news to circulate, and manipulate moral or group shibboleths in order to swing the common people into line with their military, diplomatic, social, or religious policy, we see the extreme to which wardenship and vested interests go, if they can once secure the requisite power. And this use of coercitive powers is only one of the ways in which leaders influence the rank and file of a group.[32]

The dynamic setting involved in division of labor ("specialization of function," group leadership, etc.) must be so laid bare in every group that it allows one to understand how specific interests, how beliefs and sentiments, are manipulated in that group. The best sort of instances to examine are those where the individuals or groups concerned fear neither opposition nor influential criticism and act as directly as they feel inclined. A case in point is found in the *Memoirs of the Life of Artemi*. It makes fairly clear the psychological setting of self-protective responses on the part of the priest class in a certain non-Protestant community.

The long tale of persecution begins in a widowed mother's aspirations:

". . . .my mother, notwithstanding all the difficulties thrown in the way, not only by her poverty but also by her wealthy and unfeeling neighbors, contrived to give me the best possible education; that is to say, I learned to read and write . . . .Her desire was fulfilled; I learned all that was requisite, and in September 1786, I went to the church to evening service, and read, for the first time, the Psalms prescribed for the occasion by our ritual.

"The malicious envy of the *starchines* (elders, chiefs) who were present, and whose children, unable to read, were employed in agricultural and domestic occupations, instantly burst forth. Without waiting till I had finished,—'Why,' cried they to the priest, 'doest thou allow this beggar-brat to read here? he will not do what our children do: give him a sound thrashing and send him about his business.' The feebleminded priest, in his solicitude to please them, forgot the dignity of his office and the sanctity of the place, and stepping up to me, gave me a violent slap on the face, and drove me from the altar. My mother, overwhelmed by this behavior of the priest, sunk senseless to the ground; she too was beaten, turned out of the church by command of the *starchines*, and driven home. No sooner was this riotuos service over, than the starchines ordered the *desätnik* to keep a vigilant eye on me, and not allow me a moment's leisure, that I might not occupy myself with anything but the usual labors. . . ." [Long and systematic persecution of the aspiring family is now related.][33]

The whole of the narrative shows a situation which gives evidence that the interpretation of motives actuating the local leaders in the Armenian village, is correct. It is the sort of record which should be sought for interpreting the behavior of vested interests generally. In this case it is evident that if we had the priests' account of Artemi's actions and did not have records of the long sequences of behavior of both the priests' representatives and the humble family, the psychological setting would be most difficult to reassemble.

In some regions it may be that the cultural setting of a certain class of people is sufficiently well-defined as a result of

a great mass of concrete data, that we can immediately interpret protective and self-regarding tendencies in their responses. Certain primitive tribes and even Hinduism seem to afford cases in point.

> For instance, in discussing characteristics of the latter a well-informed Census Commissioner of India asserts:
>
> ". . . .Every Hindu must acknowledge the Brahman's superiority and his omnipotence in spiritual and social matters.
>
> "On the social side, a man to be a Hindu must be a member of a recognized Hindu caste. . . .
>
> "One other criterion may be considered as absolutely necessary—that the cow is, if not worshipped, then venerated, and, at the very least, not killed."[34]

If this opinion is in any way correct, it is apparent that under a Hindu regime, the specialization-of-labor and leadership aspect of group organization is worth careful attention in the analysis of Hindu group reactions. If Brahmans do not employ secrecy nor deliberately disguise their reasons for non-approval of Christianity, it is still necessary to analyze their situations, their needs and interests, in the light of their reactions, for all lie in the obscure realm of unreflective custom and habit.

When we attempt analysis of the dynamic setting of leadership and vested interests, moreover, we face the fact that different urges may dominate the maintenance of position, than those which dominate the original attainment of position. It is probable that in the original securing of any economic, political, or religious position, the generalized expressive tendency, or, interest in activity, with certain habits of comprehension, skill, and dispatch, have been operative. It is possible that the acquisitive urge, a particularized attempt-at-mastery or will-to-power, and an unusual degree of self-feeling, may have operated. However, in the maintenance of such a position after it has been acquired, or, in fact, in the maintenance of *inherited* social position, a dominant source of motivation doubtless lies in those forms of self-regard which require attention-getting, the satisfyingness of recognition or admiration, in short, of group approval and social esteem. Moreover, if vested interests see threatening

influences on the horizon, fear and anger are brought into play—(fear of the loss of those interests guaranteed by their position, fear of the debacle of popular esteem and possibly of the dislodgment of their possessions, and anger at the threatening forces augmented by a specialized envious and jealous behavior)—; there may be a reawakening of any specialized will-to-power tendency which has developed. All are dependent, of course, upon the degree in which those instinctive tendencies have been habitually evoked and organized into complexes or are now stimulated to direct expression. These assumptions must be tested and other motives looked for in any adequate analysis. Sometimes individual members of a group and their various interests have become an intimate part of the leader's self, especially in the case of the parent, teacher, preacher, or paternalistic leader; thereafter we have the operation of primary group approval, a social-intimacy aspect of self-regard to be further illustrated later. For the present purpose it is enough to draw attention to the fact that usually the various motives of maintaining entrenched influence and power may be tentatively grouped together under a struggle for the preservation of power and self-regard; and that this in turn functions as a dominant factor in an inclusive and complex interest within the specific interests-meeting-needs process.*

Concluding Comments.—This brief critique of non-approval from the standpoint of dynamic settings which involve certain fundamental needs of the group, may leave the reader a little dissatisfied. In the first place, it seems somewhat restricted and perhaps mechanical to limit the needs and interests continually to four or five primary sets and a few specializations of them; and it may seem inconsistent with our references to secondary interests.

Moreover, in certain cases such as that of another religion's objections, we sense rivalry and jealousy and other specialized

*See the writer's discussion of "The Christian Propagandist and the God-conception" in a further volume. See also such analyses of aspects of vested interests as Small, 234, and Cooley, (B), 186.

tendencies, or combinations of them, not yet taken into account,* which seem distinct enough to require a specific category, doubtless as some further expansion of the expressive and self-regarding tendencies.

This is frankly acknowledged. Additional needs and interests and more explicit definitions should certainly be added. (And in Chapters IX and X, explanations are carried a step or two further in this direction, in applying our point of view to approving responses.) All we have attempted to give thus far is a general introductory discussion of approaches to the analysis and interpretation of non-approving behavior. We realize that there are probably many subtle and usually unmentioned factors in a non-approving situation. There are such factors—unanalized in the foregoing—as resentment at an alien's putting himself up to declaim against their faults, at his making them objects of his pity, at his utilizing beneficent baits to draw their children under his influence, and in general at his implying the failure and insufficiency of their most sacred heritage. Again, the significance of arousing certain individuals and groups to self-consciousness on many aspects of their life, is a phase of non-approving reactions not to be under-rated. We might go further into the conditions of group vitality with the statisticians on disease and mortality, of group pride with William Robertson Smith,[35] and of group will-to-power with recent writers on the war psychoses. Especially enticing in the study of group antagonism and counter-self-assertion are certain psychoanalytic inferences regarding group phenomena.[36]

However, in offering both a new scheme of group analysis and its application, and both in a very limited space, the author does not wish to wander too far from his main purpose. That

*Jealousy, for example, has appeared particularly in the wake of the missionary's success with the pariahs and outcastes of India. Their work of social betterment, which is combined with evangelism, has been widely acknowledged by Hindus. (E.g., *W. M. C.*, III, 366.) And for the first time, it seems, Hindu organizations are bestirring themselves to reach these classes for Hinduism; and that, out of the competitive or jealous spirit.

See paragragh on rivalry and reinforcement in a footnote of Appendix II, section 2.

is, *first, establishing the necessity for an inductive method on the basis of group and individual processes fairly well assumed in modern thought* while at the same time bearing in mind the incompleteness of our knowledge of the vital processes of life and society, and *second, suggesting initial approaches, problems, and difficulties to be considered.* That we have attempted to do in offering suggestions toward the interpretation of non-approval. And while localized studies will utilize further categories from bio-and psycho-sociology to handle their more detailed data, they will inevitably go beyond such categories in their materials and may do so in their analysis.

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31. Coffin, "The Spiritual Basis of the World-Order," *I. R. M.*, VIII (1919), 146-147.
32. E.g., Ross, (C), chap. xxviii, "Class Control."
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34. *Census of India*, 1911, XV, Part I, 152.
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36. E.g., see Martin chap. iv, "The Egoism of the Crowd," and chap. v, "The Crowd a Creature of Hate."

CHAPTER IX

ANALYSIS OF FAVORABLE REACTIONS IN TERMS OF MOTIVATION

(Analysis of the More Permanent Responses of Approving Behavior: Suggestions for Immediate Interpretation from the Bio-psychological Viewpoint.)

Under the discussion of "How Non-Christians React to Missions" in Chapter I, "Connivance and Passive Cooperation" was used to characterize behavior of an approving yet aloof nature toward the group organization of the alien propagandists —behavior of passive receptivity. A mystical Oriental who views his religion with philosophic temper or an enterprising Japanese administrator who sees his people can make capital of missionary education without lessening their loyalty to the Emperor, may approve and even cooperate, but he will not join the church group. Social reformers of India may heartily approve of Protestant missionary campaigns against the marriage of children and carry on a similar campaign in their own sects, yet may not identify themselves as good Hindus with the missionary's central piece of work. Religious reformers may take over the propagandist's ethic and his Jesus yet may organize or join a new sect, a Brahmo Somaj, let us say.

Strictly speaking these people respond approvingly, *to the degree* in which they countenance and passively cooperate, and non-approvingly to the degree in which they stand aloof from the Christian church groups. Both attitudes are almost inevitably combined in any case of passive receptivity. The specific occasions and causes of any one of these responses should therefore be treated both under the preceding discussion and under the following discussion,—viz., that of receptive responses.

There may be simply an awareness of the innovator, an evaluation of his efforts, and a slight attitude of both approval and non-approval. There may also be a somewhat protective intra-group adjustment, an *appropriation of technique and con-*

tent from the new elements introduced into its environment by the propagandic forces. If the adjustment is a satisfactory one made by a well integrated group, it may prevent further innovation of any disintegrating sort. This is the intent of certain reform movements in Hinduism and Mohammedanism. The groups attach their traditional disapproving definitions, tags, and group sentiments to the importations, for instance, and these act as barriers of sentiment, creed and rule against further transfer. They put off the probabilities or possibilities of future disorganization.

"Receptivity" was used under the "Salient Forms of Response" (subtitle of Chapter I), to include all approaching, seeking responses. In the discussion of "The Influence of the Native Group" (Chapter II), it was found that compact groups such as high-cast Hindus or Moslems usually resist propaganda, and that either immigration or isolation among one's own people were often necessary to get out from under this cohesive retaining influence. Such an attentuation, loosening, or breaking of group bonds in a Hindu's individual career, or such a condition of *loosened or weak organization* and of low prestige in a group's career. was found to provide fertile soil for the propagandist's seed. It facilitated reaction with approving, approaching, or seeking responses.

In the further analysis of these receptive responses, it is now evident that we do not need to follow the long procedure through which we arrived at our final method of analysing the avoiding, disapproving, antagonistic attitudes of the indifferent, and of the passive and aggressive opponents. There, we were dealing for the first time with ultra-partisan explanation—issues raised and reasons given to account for the underlying non-approving attitudes of subject or group. The weaknesses of that more obvious method of dealing with them, became evident, and made necessary the selection of some such method as the one ultimately adopted.

There are, to be sure, *professed causes here, also.* These are sometimes described by the subject concerned, or, more likely

perhaps, by the propagandist who is telling his home constituency how he has secured a hold upon non-Christians. Even then, they are not usually hot issues, and seldom questions or problems or reasons thrown off of a heightened emotional conflict. If a non-Christian wants the missionary's education, he just goes to his school and pays his fees; or if he comes to join the Christian Church, he says he has now become a Christian. In other words the screen or camouflage is not so serious. Still, it may be more subtle, and that fact will call for close study at times.

Now the method ultimately adopted to account for non-approving responses, was based on a scheme of individual and group analysis (as presented in Appendix II, section 2). This scheme seemed to suffice in the initiation of a method of handling the data. Group reactions figured much more largely in the data examined than individual reactions. Group organization had already been found to be a prolific source of opposition, in an examination of the effect it had upon the form of the response. In proceeding further *we shall utilize the analysis of the individual and group process-situation thus far made in terms of urges, expanding or amplifying it as required by the data.* We shall not delay, therefore, with any general introductory statement about receptivity as a general response-category or about its various forms.*

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*It is assumed that the forms and incentives of acceptance vary with different decades or centuries, with different localities and peoples, and with different classes and groups in the same people.

For a historical perspective here, as in the array of non-approving reactions, church history may be profitably employed. For illustration Adolph Harnack's statement summarizing conversion motives in the early Church is sufficient:

". . . .The Old Testament and the new literature of Christianity, healing and redemption, gnosis and apologetic, myth and sacrament, the conquest of demons, forms of social organization and charity—all these played their part in the mission preaching and helped to render it impressive and convincing."

Again: "In countless instances, it was but one ray of light that wrought the change. One person would be brought over by means of the Old Testament, another by the exorcising of demons, a third by the purity of Christian life; others, again, by the monotheism of Christianity, or by the prospect which it held out of immortality, or by the profundity of its speculations, or by the social standing which it conferred." *Harnack*, (1904 ed.) 104, 105.

For a contemporary perspective, the Report itself suffices:

". . . .It makes a great deal of difference whether the people are ignorant and superstitious tribes in the heart of Africa or whether they constitute the highly civilized inhabitants of the more enlightened parts of the Orient, who may in addition have availed themselves of Western education. The former

1. FAVORABLE REACTIONS IN ORDER TO SECURE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ADVANTAGES

(The Primary Life-Urges in Economic and Social Interests)

In the presence of another culture-group more successful in some ways and equipped with different means of meeting its primary life-needs, African or Indian is likely to appropriate what he can of its products, its technique, and its prestige. This is a common-place. The missionary church is such a group, and a priori there is no reason to regard it as an exception to the principle. Let us recognize this at the very start for there is need of clarity upon the applicability of this general category. Sophisticated moralizers in religious movements have talked so much about ideals and truths, and about instruction and preaching as motivating factors almost separate from the material facts of life, that the more elemental motives have often been obscured. Yet the data we have seen indicates that, *beginning with the most primitive men, on up to quite cultured peoples, economic and social ambition may be credited with at least initiating a great deal of the favorable attitude toward the propagandists, found among non-Christians.*

Among the Primitive-Minded.—To the less complex non-Christian groups, the propagandist comes with materials and culture associated with the prosperity and power of the Western nations. The representative of more powerful peoples, he appears as a strange being through the halo of an elusive and exaggerated attractiveness. He comes with *prestige.*[1]

> Says Crowther, "As far as I know, there is no place in Africa, uncontaminated with European slave dealers, which Europeans have visited with the intention of doing good, where such an event has not been hailed as the most auspicious in the annals of the country. Every chief considers himself highly honoured to have white men for his friends."[2]

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will not require as large and complex a missionary staff as the latter. There are some races which have shown a singular readiness to accept the Gospel, such as the people of Uganda, Korea, and some of the islands of the Pacific. . . . .A comparatively small number of well-qualified missionaries, if properly related to each other, can in the midst of such a population kindle into flame a whole countryside. But even here the need soon develops for strong centres in order to consolidate the results and build up a powerful and abiding Church." *W.M.C.*, I, 292.

"When the Battaks see any product of education that evokes their wonder they exclaim: 'We Battaks are still buffaloes.' "[3]

". . . .One of the school teachers has said lately that when we first came to this station [in Hawaii] she was afraid to come and visit us because she thought we were the gods. . . ."[4]

In Formosa, "the Presbyterian Church of Japan is engaged in direct mission work in Taipeh, Kilung, and Tainan, and whilst doing efficient work themselves are cooperating cordially with the other missions labouring in the same fields. Thus the prestige of the dominant race is given to Christianity in the eyes of the heathen."[5]

Yet to the eyes of those who thus greet him he is usually regarded as a means to very *practical ends.*

"Even in the most primitive pioneer mission, the missionary, whether he will or not, appears to the heathen as a representative of a culture and education at which they gaze with astonishment, as though it has come from another world. By his tools and instruments, by his knowledge and skill, he impresses them as a higher being. The interest of all centres on the wonderful man who is the talk of the countryside for miles around. The feuds and controversies of the tribes are brought before him to be settled by his wisdom. He is expected to cure every kind of disease and infirmity, to have a word of counsel for all, and to bring about a general improvement in the land. This high esteem gives importance to his words. . . ."[6]

"Crowther had always been successful in winning the confidence of these native potentates. He always made a point of impressing upon them that the visit of the Christian missionary was not with warlike intent, or from any desire to forcibly appropriate territory, but simply to teach them the truths of Christianity, and to encourage them, for their own advantage, to engage in trading relations with the world outside." [An instance follows, in some detail.][7]

Crowther, before a noted king:—"'I introduced myself to him as a mallam sent by the great mallams from the white man's country to see the state of the heathen population and to know the mind of the rulers, whether we might teach the people the religion of Anasara and at the same time introduce trade among them. To this he at once gave a full consent, saying that it was all one—we might teach them, and that he would give us a place for a station at Rabba on their return after the rains. He also gave

free consent to trade in all parts of the river, with his protection as far as his influence extended. He then entertained us. . . .' "[8]

They *may not at first differentiate* more than superficially between the various possible results which they think may accrue to them through the foreigner's religion, Book, or customs, nor tell, except by the most external and misleading signs, which parts of the exotic custom are best suited to bring about those results—but they clamor for a share in them as they see them.

"The evangelizing of a district in Sumatra usually begins with the heathen building a school and asking a teacher for themselves and their children. That mostly happens not from any desire for salvation, at least where the petitioners are as yet ignorant of the contents of the new message. In many cases it is simply a desire for education which they think valuable. But that gives the opportunity of instructing them and leading them to Christianity. The state of matters is similar on Nias, and in most missions in Netherland India."[9]

Dr. Stewart of Lovedale declares that the African "makes little or no distinction between intellectual and moral education, and does not understand that the best results are only got when the two are combined. He confounds instruction and education, and has an ambition to learn all that the white man learns. The African has a great idea of what he calls 'getting knowledge.' Hence his anxiety about instruction merely, apart from mental discipline and habit. To this must be added little liking for manual labour, . . .there is the erroneous idea that manual work is servile toil, and mental work is supposed to lift a man to a higher class."[10]

In Madagascar, "This eagerness to be able to read God's Word has its origin, not in any desire for salvation of their souls, but in the hope of finding in the Bible, with which they connected many superstitious ideas, the wisdom of the European."[11]

The *poorer and illiterate classes among the complex-culture peoples* are drawn to the missionary by the same vague desire for economic and social advantage, as are the peoples of less complex culture.

"In India the ruling nations have no desire to hear the Gospel, but the oppressed Aboriginals, the Kols, and Santals are

led by their great need to be attentive hearers of the soothing Word. That is several times attested of the Kols by Jellinghaus and Nottrott. A similar testimony is given by missionary Hoch of the Basker mission-field in India. . . .The standing answer which people of this sort give to the question, why do they want to become Christians is, we want to prosper. . . ."[12]

"While there have been individual conversions from all classes of Indian society, the Christian community to a very large extent has been built up by the great accessions from the tribes and classes that are strictly outside Hindu society. These classes constitute only one-sixth of the whole population. We may well find satisfaction in the Gospel being thus first accepted by the poor and the ignoble. But we cannot ignore or neglect the other five-sixths of the population."[13]

In 1880 Li Hung Chang, the noted statesman of China declared to him, says Timothy Richard, "'Your converts gather round you because they and their friends are in your service and have their living thereby. Withdraw the pay of these native agents and there will be no more Christians.' He also pointed out that there were no Christians among the educated classes of the land. This made me consider more than ever the importance of influencing the leaders, and I returned to Shansi resolved to lecture to the officials and scholars."[14]

A Chinese, a scholar of the old system of education, declared to the writer in 1919: "The Chinese look at everything from the point of view of securing profit, personal profit, bodily profit. Foreigners think officials do much for reputation—the Chinese think they do all for profit ('li')." He claimed that he never knew a Chinese to come into the church against persecution. "Chinese all come to the missionaries for the profit they can get out of it."

It must be recognized that the world of primitive-minded men, comprising the illiterate bulk of the population even among "the cultured peoples," has not yet drawn the line between spiritual and physical, or, physical and psychic, to the extent that the modern Occident has,* and it *expects benefits in defiance of all physical law* as science knows it.

*Outside of a certain very limited matter-of-fact knowledge, "the method of control over the physical world among children and primitive men, is a social technique. It may be a hopelessly inefficient technique, but it is simply carrying over the social technique into this larger world." Meade, 48.

"A heathen can form no conception of a religion of spiritual benefits, and therefore at first they suppose that Christianity is like their own religion, a religion for securing earthly blessings. Its adherents become rich and powerful; see the white men who wield its inherent powers of magic. Simon, the missionary, on digging a well at Bandor (east coast of Sumatra), was regarded as a mighty magician. The Niassers believed that the missionaries were in possession of great means of magic which of course they concealed. The Damra regarded H. Hahn, the missionary, as a great magician. The Papuans even regarded the missionaries as spirits. They saw in the coffee of Hoffman, the missionary, a medicine which was a protection from epidemics, and called on Missionary Kunze to heal a sick person with the words, 'Kunze, give orders that he may be healed.' The heathens would gladly become Christians if they were made thereby richer, healthier, and stronger through the magic of Christianity, if they lived longer and had more descendants. Otherwise, what end is to be served by the change?"[15]

Reading and writing, the Bible, prayer, are all technique to attain prosperity and power, whether through magic or more obvious means. Proof of this will come out as we proceed.

Among Upper-class Orientals.—Among the upper classes of the Chinese, Japanese, Hindus, Moslems, it is with a less credulous, but equally calculating purpose that *schooling is sought* at the hands of the missionaries—purchased if it cannot be obtained free. Is it not *the avenue to employment, to position, to influence, a key to the greatness of the West*?

"The motive of the parent [in India who sends a daughter to a missionary school] is not always a pure desire for education: it is sometimes a desire, not elsewhere unknown, to get something for nothing; sometimes a wish for mere material advantage for the girls. 'Education is valued in India,' says the Archdeacon of Madras (*The East and the West*, January, 1908), 'not so much because it is enlightening as because it is profitable,' and the missionary provides the easiest and cheapest avenue to the attainment of it. . . .

". . . .In Ceylon the Cambridge Locals are for a girl as good as a dowry; but they are not education, for they leave the girl ignorant of her own language, history and social culture. Europeanised parents desire their daughters taught accomplishments: Berlin woolwork to be framed on the parlor wall; 'a few

strokes on the violin before she leaves'; a little strumming on a cheap piano; painting flowers, sometimes a little French. They learn also to wear shoes, and feathers in their hats, often also to eat meat. This of course is pure snobbery: but since 'Christian influence' not education, is the aim, these things must be provided; and it often happens that these bourgeois ideals are the teachers' very own."[16]

Speaking of the great five-sixths of India's population comprising all but "the tribes and classes that are strictly outside Hindu society," the Report declares: "The extreme difficulty of reaching these by preaching is well known. There is no means of introducing them to the knowledge of the Christian faith and life at all comparable to the open schools."[17]

The way in which early Protestant missionaries rose to prestige in Japan is another very good case:

"The first teaching of young men outside of his own house, by Mr. Verbeck, was in a school which the governor of Nagasaki established for the training of interpreters. On coming back from China, Mr. Verbeck found that the two young men to whom in 1860 he had taught some English, had been twice promoted . . . .The governor of Nagasaki was so pleased with the attainments of the young men that on going to Yedo [Tokio], he proposed to the Shogun's government that a school of foreign languages and science be founded and that Mr. Verbeck be made the principal.

. . . . . .

"A schoolhouse was built and was soon filled to overflowing, with over one hundred pupils, Mr. Verbeck taking only the advanced classes. . . .

"The samurai not only from Hizen and the southwestern provinces, but from many parts of the empire, including two sons of the court noble Iwakura, who afterward became Prime Minister of the empire, flocked to Nagasaki to get under the care of a man whose name was already magnetic, potent, and to some apparently magical. Indeed the long sealed doors seemed now opening on every side.

"The two great documents, expressed in English, which Mr. Verbeck taught most and longest to the most promising of his pupils, including such future members of the emperor's cabinet as Soyeshima and Okuma, were the New Testament and the Constitution of the United States. Here at the feet of this modern Gamaliel sat by the score other young men also, who in the Meiji period (from 1868 until the present day)

have directed the destinies of Japan. Mr. Verbeck's pupils have become the new sort of orientals, in a new kind of Asian state that has voluntarily placed itself under the leading of the two great Anglo-Saxon nations."[18]

"Two of my earliest political students, Okuma and Soyeshima, of Nagasaki times," wrote Verbeck himself, "rose very quickly to the highest offices in the empire, ministers and councillors of state, and a great number of my greater pupils are now in various ranks in all the home and foreign departments of the government. Hence there was sprung up a vague notion among a certain class of people that the being under my tuition for a length of time is pretty sure to lead to official position or promotion. I have often been told so, and it may seem and sound very fine; in its time and place, too, it has had and still has the effect, more or less, of liberalizing the minds of some officials, of recommending Christianity to them in a general way and disposing them favorably toward it."[19]

No wonder that, as the Report says, "The minds of the people in most countries are more open and favourable to the wise and friendly approach of the Christian missionaries than at any time in the past."[20]

Mission schools and colleges naturally enough are crowded to their capacity in Africa and the Orient.

"All the English and American mission colleges and schools are full to overflowing."[21]

With reference to India, the Report asserts that "well-equipped schools and colleges have no difficulty in filling their class-rooms."[22]

"I myself," says Tisdall of Persia, "have met in increasing numbers here in Great Britain recently young men of high birth sent from Persia, and others are being sent to various European countries for the sake of that Western learning which they cannot get at home. We found a hill tribe more famous for highway robbery than for learning. At the present time they are anxious, and have even begged for years, that we should give them a teacher, and we have failed as yet to find one."[23]

These general facts are beyond dispute. Verification of each bit of concrete data is a different matter. As we have reiterated, the *interpretation* of the motives should go hand in hand with a careful scrutiny of the whole general scheme of the

needs and interests of each party concerned. For the time being, it should be borne in mind that *the vast majority* of those who have joined the church group, or associated themselves with its enterprises the world over, *are very poor*. And undoubtedly their reasons for so doing are as elemental and simple, though vague to the outsider, as their outlook on life. A general betterment of the conditions of life is one of their paramount wishes in responding favorably to alien propaganda.

Specific Economic or Social Objectives.—At times, instead of this vague ambition, a specific material or social advantage may be the attraction in overcoming indifference or reluctance to do the propagandist's bidding.

> As a background, let us note that the earlier Roman Catholic missions show this fundamental appeal:
>
> " 'Accordingly it has been observed that among the Indians only three sorts of persons have embraced the Christian religion when inculcated to them by European missionaries who were known to be Europeans. The first are those who put themselves under the protection of the Portuguese . . .to secure themselves from the tyrannical government of the Mohammedans. Such were the Paravas. . . .Secondly those whom the Portuguese had subdued along the coast by force of arms, who professed at first outwardly the religion of their conquerors. . . .The third sort of Indian who turned Christian at the time we are speaking of were either the dregs of the people or slaves whom the Portuguese purchased in the country, or persons who had been turned out of their caste for their dissolute behaviour.' "[24]

> Both men and women missionaries among Protestants, however, often feel compelled to sanction material inducements in some form. Mrs. Paton writes:
>
> ". . . .I want to tell you about our first Christian marriage here . . .Kahi, the bride, was one of my scholars, a pretty young widow of about seventeen; and Ropu, her lover, was such a nice fellow too, a great favourite of Mr. Paton's. They seemed really attached; but Kahi's father-in-law demurred about giving her away, as he considered her still his property, having given a high price (present?) for her, when he bought her for his deceased son. One morning, however, Ropu appeared with such a number of fat pigs, that they quite took the old man's heart by storm, and he declared that he might have her that day, if the Missi thought

it right. The Missi did not object, but advised them to get married in Church; and I determined to give Kahi a nice present, in order to tempt her young companions to follow her Christian example—not a very high motive, to be sure, but if the prospect of a good present will induce them to alter their habits in regard to marriage, I have not the slightest objection that it should be so. It's about the highest motive some of them can yet appreciate; and there is no vital principle, after all, at stake in the mere form."[25]

"Both in India and in China the generous kindness shown by Christian people in time of famine, and administered by the hands of misisonaries, has often turned the hearts of many towards the Christian Church, and through the Church towards God. The tyranny and oppression to which the outcastes are subjected in India, as a result of the caste system, is a material factor of the whole movement. They find themselves admitted to a new fellowship, treated as brothers and potentially equals. They find thus offered to them a new dignity and a new status."[26]

While the foregoing data shows the functioning of elementary economic and social interests, it should not be concluded that *other* impressions and *interests* do not *function* among primitive and illiterate people,—*with the economic or social, or separate from them.*

Chatting with three Chinese country women outside of a Chinese walled city, a foreigner asked them why they believed in the Doctrine and what benefit they got from entering it. As they claimed to be members of the Southern Baptist communion, one of them replied: "Oh, it saves money to believe in the Doctrine. We do not have to waste money on the superstitious practices—feasts and charms. And then we know now that all that is vain—all the heathen "practices." "How much money does the Doctrine save you in a year?" put in the foreigner. "We used to spend as much as two dollars a year or over for the heathen festivals and charms." [Christians of this class in China would be able to put only a few cash (a cash is a tenth of a copper) or a few coppers at most into each Sunday collection at church, so they would really save a considerable amount.][27]

"I recall with particular interest an evening spent at Hwaiyuan with a company of native Christians gathered by Mr. Cochran for informal discussion of the subject of religion. The conversation turned on the motives which had led to their conversion, and I was impressed by their variety. To one man it was frankly

> the hope of material betterment; to another, the reaction from the failure of an effort long continued to attain Buddhahood; to a third it was the influence of the unselfish lives of the missionaries, notably their work in healing the sick. An old boatman dated his conversion from a sermon on the flood which he said he could verify from his own experience, since he too had lived though the flood. On the whole, the motives were very simple, and the specific reasons which fill our apologetic books conspicuous by their absence."[28]

Yet the reader should be warned against misjudging investigations that emphasize the "psychic" or "higher" motives. Annett's study of *Conversion in India* reports that only one per cent of male converts and twelve per cent of female from non-Christian homes, and none from Christian homes, admit that "hope of temporal betterment" attracted them to Christianity. But his statistics are from native Christian leaders, professional and non-professional. The same is true in general of Kato's study of conversion in Japan. The data we have presented, on the other hand, while in no way conclusive, is typical in showing attractive forces originally operating on a great mass of mission church membership.

The primary needs coalesce in their impetus toward these economic and social interests. Desire for steadier food supply and more leisure, for fuller self-expression, for higher regard—these organic wishes are seeking satisfaction and protection in their satisfaction, from the industries, schools, hospitals, and churches of the missionary. So far as the rough data now available discloses these desires separately or in specialized forms, they will now be taken up under classified headings.

2. THE PHYSICAL APPETITES: FOOD, SHELTER, SEX

The need for satisfying the physical appetites is found motivating adherents in a more or less superficial way *throughout the history of missions* up until the last generation. Instead of the glass of brandy and two inches of tobacco deliberately promised to the slaves of Cape Town to secure their attention while in Christian schools during the mid-seventeenth century,

we hear of a Pastor Hsi giving a Sunday meal and even money to the poor attending worship, and the poor coming to his opium refuges.[29] Significantly, he was rebuked by the C.I.M. missionaries. And the deliberate offering of doles or material advantages of any sort as inducements to conversion, is renounced by Protestant missionary leaders as an unsound policy.

> "Cases are to be found in all parts of the mission field in which converts have been induced to make a profession of their Christian faith in the hope that they might secure for themselves material advantages, and in some instances the responsibility for arousing this hope lies with the missionaries. The principle, however, of endeavoring to attract converts by the offer of such advantages is one which has now been abandoned by all non-Roman Missionary societies. Experience shows conclusively that missionary work prospers most and the best types of Christian character tend to be produced when the convert to the Christian faith has to face at least a mild form of persecution."[30]

Food and Shelter Sought.—Nevertheless, even outstanding liberals do deliberately appeal to the craving for food in other ways beside giving direct doles.

> It was at a time of drought in China. "While they were all thus praying to the idols everywhere," says Richard, "I prepared some yellow placards with only a few words on each, saying that if the people wanted rain, the best way was to turn from dead idols to the living God and pray unto Him and obey His laws and conditions of life. . . .The result was very striking . . . deputations of elderly men would come to the inn, go down on their knees and beg me to tell them how to worship and pray to the living God. Later on some women with tiny feet travelled some twenty miles over the mountains to visit me in Ch'ing-chow fu to inquire about the same object. Years after these became the nucleus of a Christian church in these mountains."[31]

Furthermore, as a regular policy, not only have the homes of pioneer missionaries in the New Hebrides provided food and shelter to the first youths susceptible to the missionaries, but mission schools have continued to follow this practice in varying degrees throughout the world. One would be rash to say that in many cases at least, poor parents have not put their non-wage-earning children under the missionary's care to get rid of their

immediate support, so that they themselves would have more to eat and drink.

> ". . . .I met a very nice man, one of the Church members, who stopped me and said, *Missi, I've given my boy up to you and Missi the man, and you're to feed and clothe and teach him, as you do the other children.* I could hardly believe my ears, and you would need to know how boys are prized here to appreciate as we did the sacrifice made; at least, as John did, for I must confess that the thought of their bodily sustenance comes between me and the fervent thanksgiving of my earnest little man for 'another soul being added to our care!' We've got ten of these souls, with bodies attached, at the present time, besides several outsiders who come during the day, and it taxes all my ingenuity to keep them in work and 'Kai-kai'—their capacity for the latter being of no mean order. Their clothes are no concern beyond the making of them, and that they soon learn to do for themselves; for we have always been abundantly supplied from kind Mission friends."[32]

The writer has heard it said of man after man in the general membership of different churches on the mission field, that they were extremely poor and hardly able to live before entering the church, that they secured a well-paying position either in church work or through the assistance of the church leaders when they joined it, and that they had joined for this very reason. The "bread and butter" motive has been confessed by missionaries to be a very strong one behind certain mass movements toward Christianity—and they are of significant proportions.

The threat or torture of *famine* has been a very real force in turning non-Christains toward the propagandists. Missionaries have flung themselves untiringly into relief in many notable instances, sometimes calculating the effect it would have on their propaganda, sometimes apparently absorbed in the desire to relieve want and suffering. Almost invariably, favor, prestige, and followers have resulted. The facilities of the immediate physical environment for supplying man's needs have here broken down to the advantage of the group which would supply succor. The need of food compels non-Christians to make an initial approaching response to missionaries. How far other motives

develop with the satisfaction of this appetite is not now our problem; if it were, all generalizations upon it could be accepted here only as possible hypotheses.

> "Part of that misery is famine. . . .In such calamities large masses of heathen see, perhaps for the first time, mercy, compassion, and deliverance, though not among those of their own religion; that makes them attentive to the Christianity they have hitherto misjudged. . . .Missionary Sundermann declares that, on the island Nias, diseases and the medicine dispensed by the missions are often effective mission agents, and in heathen regions the healing of the sick is often the means of leading to Christianity the otherwise inaccessible heathen."[33]

The Sex Interest.—The sex interest has been responsible, the India Census reports, for crossing the highest barriers between opposed religions. The desire to marry a certain man or woman who belongs to a different faith, has brought converts to Christianity as well as Islam and Hinduism. On the other hand, some wives and husbands separate because one of the families protest when the other mate is converted. The cases that we have found reported in some detail, however, disclose also such incentives as the appeal of security and social pressure, of intimate sociability and the ability to relax and express one's self, if not of other motives usually accompanying the general expression of sex in family life in the West.

> "At first Habeeb's wife followed him merely because she was his wife, and not from sympathy with his religious views. On one occasion the father took advantage of this fact and decided to make things harder for the husband. He. . . persuaded the wife to help him . . .a cause of quarrel was easily devised, and the father, as so often before, ordered Habeeb to leave the house.
>
> " 'Very well, it shall be as you wish, father,' said Habeeb.
>
> "To his infinite surprise, his wife made no move to follow him, but said:
>
> " 'I'm not going with you.' . . . .he went out, silently and alone, without so much as a glance at the woman who refused to follow him. . . .That night as he went to rest his only comfort was in the Book, but the way looked very dark ahead of him and he could not understand the desertion of his faithful wife.

"Before dawn next morning he was aroused by a noise at the door. . . .At last he called in a gruff voice, 'Who's there?' His heart almost ceased to beat as a woman's voice responded, broken by sobs: 'It is your wife, come back to you. Please let me in.'

"Steeling himself against the desire of his heart, he answered roughly, ordering her away, trembling lest she take him at his word. Sobs and broken protests came back through the closed door, and a long colloquy took place—piteous pleading from without and stern conditions of acceptance from within. At last the door was opened. From that day husband and wife were never separated by the slightest misunderstanding, ..."[34]

The less recognized influences of sex operating ostensibly only through emotional reactions, both heterosexual and homosexual, are necessarily at work wherever human folk mingle. We refer to this later on.

"In India we have a great problem with those who have a homosexual desire. It is a problem in the schools of India. The girls are constantly falling in love with their women teachers. Our missionaries have had this trouble, because their girls are falling in love with them. It is a big problem and I do wish we could face it squarely and try, if possible, to find something to solve it."[35]

3. THE EXPRESSIVE URGE IN EXPLORATIVE AND MASTERING INTERESTS

Unquestionably many favorable reactions to Christian forces are not on the level of the physical appetites at all.

". . . . .[Female, conversion age 12, writes:] 'His death and saving power attracted me most at that time. The story of His death was told so nicely by a teacher that many of the children wanted to give themselves to God. I was one of them; from that time I was sensible of a desire for salvation.' [Male] 'I was attracted by the Cross of Christ and the blood that He shed there for sinners.' A common answer is, 'I was attracted by the fact that Christ is the only Saviour.' "[36]

". . . .(Non-Christian [i.e. a convert originally from a non-Christian home]) [Male, conversion age 23:] 'Day by day the feeling grew that there was something lacking in me that I had not got—I was miserable.' [Male:] 'Christianity seemed to satisfy all my spiritual cravings.' (Christian) [Female, conversion age 18:] 'A feeling of dissatisfaction with myself sprang

up within me, and grew stronger as I was introduced to the Saviour by my teacher. This intensity of feeling and desire lasted about a month until the want was satisfied.'"[37]

When we come to differentiate between these "spiritual" sources of susceptibility to Christian agencies, we find the expressive urge well to the fore among them, often operating in the ideational, or, compensatory realm as the psychoanalists put it. *There is a wide range of the explorative interest, particularly in things dramatic and adventurous and pregnant with hopes, of the mastering interest, and of the assertive,—which are capitalized by propagandists everywhere.*

Interest in Dramatic Aspects of Ceremonial and Tradition.—The street preaching during the period of pioneer effort in many places, catches the whimsical attention of men going to work, of women going to market—this we have seen in the initial temporary reactions of *curiosity.* The boy Uchimura kept attending the indoor services in the foreign settlement as a sort of Sunday excursion: for a considerable time it afforded enough novelty to keep him interested. To a Westerner one of the strange aspects of Christian meetings on the mission field is that non-Christian visitors and even periodic comers have patience to sit through long extended preaching services.[38] They are much longer than in the West in most cases. The explanation seems to lie in two facts. First, there is a paucity of leisure interests, missionaries claim.

"Gambling and lotteries are another source of deflection. Both gambling and opium smoking have their tap-root in monotony. The Chinese have no sports, nor any harmless amusements; they have scarcely any light literature, and as to newspapers, even if the mass of the people were able to read them, they are too modern to be of absorbing interest. Apart from the theatre, which being in the open street or temple is free to all, or an occasional game of chess, which again is a recreation only for the few, there is little left to relieve the monotony of their sordid life. There are no clubs . . .no billiards or bagatelle, no lectures, no politics, no elections, no concerts, except the squall of an occasional ballad-singer. What is a man to do by way of amusement unless it be to 'have a gamble' occasionally."[39]

Secondly, the services have a far greater dramatic appeal to the utter stranger than one accustomed to them can realize. The church edifice, if there is one, the singing in unison and in solos, the musical instruments, and especially the whole reach of narrative and moralizing—the entire service in fact, varied as it is from meeting to meeting, contains this dramatic interest. And the "prayer meeting" affords personal confessional of dramatic biography that certainly reaches a most universal human curiosity.

For continuous variety, no part of the religious services is quite so suited as the Biblical material used. Much of it is given in story form, a favorite Sunday school and pulpit device. Now narrative of itself evokes universal interest whether the content is Christian or non-Christian, fanciful or credible.

> ". . . .As I grew up and reason began to dawn, it was my greatest delight to listen to the traditional narratives delivered down, in those parts, from mouth to mouth, frequently from remote antiquity. Not children only, but grown persons also are fond of hearing these stories; and I, for my part, was quite in an ecstasy whenever I had an opportunity of hearing something that was new to me. . . ."[40]

> "The great emphasis laid on stories of one sort or other will be noted. Four replies say, 'the stories my mother used to tell me.' Interesting glimpses into Hindu homes are given in some of the replies. [Male, conversion age 16:] 'The teaching that interested me most in my early days was the stories of Hinduism; especially stories from the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* as told by my mother and elder sister.' [Male, conversion age 22:] 'When a boy many a time I shed tears while reading or hearing read pathetic parts of the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*.' "[41]

> "The Chinese are passionately fond of stories and story-telling. On the public streets and squares, professional story-tellers congregate from noon to midnight, going over the achievements of a hero or portraying the despair of a lover. . . .
>
> "All classes indulge in this favorite pastime. The dignified scholar relishes a good story as much as a child in the lap a fairy tale. Story books in the language can be counted by the tens of thousands."[42]

Whether the missionary be regarded as a story-telling magician, a solemn mendicant, or a hustling promoter of Western religions, his "stories of the Bible are everywhere listened to with pleasure. The heathen are keenly interested in them."[43] The Hebrew-Christian Bible contains "patriarchal sagas" fascinating to certain imaginative persons and especially to the non-scientific folk-mind, so to speak: they comprise an epic of a great God depicted on the grand anthropomorphic scheme that appeals to the arch-heroic; it culminates in a "Jesus drama" of redemptive sacrifice which Wundt calls "the most impressive and effective story that the human mind ever conceived."[44] And this "gospel story" realistically told does have effect.

> "I am in the midst of a sinful people, who have been accustomed to sin uncontrolled from their youth, and who talk of it with levity. If I speak to a native on murder, infanticide, cannibalism, and adultery,—their hitherto glaring sins—they laugh in my face, and tell me, 'I may think these acts are bad, but they are very good for a native'; and they cannot conceive any harm in them. But on the contrary, when I tell them that these and other sins brought the Son of God, the Great Creator of the Universe, from His eternal glory to this world, to be incarnate and to be made a curse and to die,—then they open their eyes and ears and mouths, and wish to hear more; and presently they acknowledge themselves sinners, and say they will leave off their sins."[45]

> " 'There is nothing which more certainly arrests the attention of those primitive people than the voluntary death of the Son of God, that men may be forgiven and reinstated in divine favour' (Armstrong). One exception, however, is mentioned, 'That Christ Jesus could be willing to die for us was denied. They said simply, "People don't do that way"' (Nassau)."[46]

The most calculating use of this story and dramatic aspect of the Bible is made in the mission Sunday Schools. Non-Christian children seem easy to get together and hold, even though the pedagogical method may not be the best. Week after week new stories are heard, simple little songs are sung, (and the teacher pays bits of special attention to the scholars)—it is such use of leisure which has brought the Sunday school attendance up into

the millions and which has brought many a convert into the mission churches.

> In China "Cases have occurred where the boys of non-Christian schools were sent by their parents to neighbouring churches on the Lord's Day, with the request that, their own school being closed, they might be permitted to attend church on that day to keep them out of mischief!"[47]
>
> Speaking of Japan, the Edinburgh Report says:
>
> "The proportion of Christian children in attendance is estimated to amount only to eight or nine per cent of the whole. . . .In a paper on Sunday Schools read at the Tokyo Decennial Conference in 1900, Miss Buzzell states that: '. . . .There is hardly a neighbourhood where you cannot gather together a group of children, if you can find a room for the meeting, and some one with tact and zeal to teach them. . . .' "[48]

Interest in School Activities and in Imaginative and Intellectual Problems.—For a boy or girl to go to the mission day school, as contrasted with the Sunday School, is an event in the story of tens of thousands of families. It is quite an event for a youth to start school in countries where it is common. Much more so where missions have first brought the school. And to go to a boarding school appeals to the boys' and girls' *adventuresome desire for new experience* in a way it is difficult for an elderly person to understand. There may or may not be a shred of consciously serious ambition in the youth. In fact, in most cases he may be sent to school because the family want him to; and in some, the family's ambitions for him are merely taken over by the pupil without much romance. But the adventure of it appeals to many.[49] When the daily routine actually begins the romance may dim. But then a host of more casual events, duties, and friendships go to make up the days and weeks, which have some of the same basic quality in them. Where definite "school activities" are accessible, as in games, athletics, boys' clubs and boys' work programs of churches and Y.M.C.As., these may have a strong novel appeal.

As years go on the active youth finds himself set about and harassed on every hand by the rote requirements, restrictions,

and penalties which constitute the mores—against which his protective tendency is aroused, as we shall see in the next chapter. Moreover, as adolescence dawns, the idealistic appeals of his country and time and the appeals of his teachers, take hold of a mind asserting itself in this new world, the world of problems and ideals and ambitions—not only a world where desire conflicts with standards of conduct but where even standards of conduct are in conflict. The youth in whom the *investigative tendency* is strong and has not been repressed, plunges on into new projects, new purposes, new explanations—heresy and experiment.

"Habeeb had heard something of this new doctrine, and, being of an active turn of mind, he desired to learn more, but was unwilling to offend his father. One day, while working at the loom, he heard that the colporteur was in town. Saying that he was going to repair a water pipe, he slipped from the house and hastened to the public room of the sheik's house, where it is the custom for strangers to go. To his surprise and chagrin he found his father there, in heated argument with the colporteur. He slipped into an obscure corner, hoping to escape notice. After a time he was seen and reprimanded by his father. To conceal his real interest in the Word and his sympathy with the colporteur, he joined his father in the argument, denouncing the heretical position of the evangelicals.

"Such infrequent opportunities of learning about the new teaching were not sufficient to satisfy the increasing hunger of Habeeb, and so he began to inquire as to the possibility of securing a Bible for his own private study." [He walked forty miles and exchanged his old metal sword to secure a Bible. He later became a Christian.][50]

Says Chundra Lela, "In my study of the sacred books of the Hindus, and especially 'Bhagabat Gita,' I had found that salvation is promised to those who visit and worship at all the holy places, and if one would pay careful attention to all such matters they would get a vision of God in this world. I decided that a vision of God and forgiveness of sins would be worth more to me than anything else." [She took money and her sacred books, went mostly on foot; and on this adventure learned of Jesus and became a Christian.][51]

Among the faithful type of convert and leader upon whom Annett reports, the largest number gave as the thing that impelled them toward Christianity, restlessness. Of males from non-Christian homes, 31% gave it; of females, 20%. Of males from Christian homes, 9% gave it; of females 5%.[52]

Exploits of Leadership, Heroism, and Altruism.—Self-assertion, achievement, a great destiny are often implicit yet keen desires *accompanying exploratiyeness.*

". . . .(Christian) [Female, conversion age 16:] 'When I realized that God had a purpose for me in life, to fulfil which I was placed in the world, I resolved to find out a way of leading this higher life. . . .' "[53]

It is at this stage that those who have broken over conventional successes and achieved something unusual, grip the individual's imagination.

Verbeck wrote, ". . . .as most of the Japanese are great admirers of our glorious Washington and of the institutions which he helped establish, I have many inquirers . . .into these matters."[54]

Testimony from both the Far East and India has indicated, however, that the appeal of "the heroic" to the Eastern mind may not be what it is to the Western.

". . . .Says one teacher in Western India, 'My hero at first as a boy was a celebrated wrestler. Later it was a missionary.'. . . .

"Especial difficulties were experienced in securing satisfactory replies on this subject for many had no conception of the idea of a hero in this sense. In practically every language of the India Empire the word even for 'hero' is non-existent. It has been possible, however, to supplement the rather meager results in this detail obtained through the Questionnaire, by replies given at various conferences of teachers and students when thorough explanation of the term was offered. Even then sometimes as many as seventy per cent of those present could give no replies . . . ."[55]

Christian propagandists make ready capital out of a tendency of this sort, if they can. Definite "moral ideals" are advanced and often have an appeal. A personal crisis, a feeling of the inadequacy of experience or of the inadequacy of norms for be-

havior, a need for greater emotional and intellectual expression or for a more satisfying philosophy of life—any and every one of these that is discerned, is seized upon by the propagandists who hope to provide for him a substitute interest from their alien mores. Altruistic projects such as Y.M.C.A.'s social service for other boys, appeal to the assertive and adventurous in some.

> A very "successful" Y.M.C.A. Boys' Work secretary in China says, "My experience with boys is that more of them become interested in accepting Christianity as a result of rendering service or seeing others serve than from attending church or Bible classes."
>
> Again he says: "Most of the active Christians among the boys I know best have come by the way of some unselfish service. . . ." "Expressional activity first and Christian doctrines afterwards" is his formula.[56]

The fact that the substitute interests are new, is less of a handicap than at any other period of life. The very inadequacy of the familiar, to such an individual, leaves free and untrammeled a whole fund of eagerness for new experience and for mastering the hard, strenuous, and challenging.

Feats of leadership among one's fellows seem *par excellence* to draw from explorative and assertive interest in the daringly and hopelessly experimental. Initiative, independence of thought and action, and attempt-at-mastery over one's fellows operate together as the most accentuated forms of the fundamental kinds of activity we have been describing. And they are the qualities, the deep cut interests, that account in part for the attraction and the conversion to Christianity of certain men of leadership in the non-Christian world. Perspicacity and a host of other things enter in. But the men who burst through the crust of custom and taboo, and head up a new Christian community, we must investigate thoroughly for this most plausible of deep-seated tendencies.

> "Most mission fields have been dowered by God with such first-fruits. The Battak Mission had one or more extraordinary men as pioneers in every new province that it entered. Nommensen the missionary, settled under the greatest difficulties and dangers at Silindung, a province till then completely closed,

was soon joined by a chief Radja Pontas; for prudential reasons he was not at once baptised; but . . .he gained an entrance for Christianity among the 15,000 inhabitants of the valley. . . . When the province of Toba, a fortress of heathenism, was attacked, some souls were found there quite unexpectedly, . . . who rendered possible its entrance into the heathen region, champions who, after the majority had become Christians, towered a head above all the others. When doing pioneer work in Samosir, I also received the gift of a heathen prepared by God, a former magic priest, whose heart God had touched. At the first hearing of the Divine invitation he threw away his idols and magic implements, and began with his family to lead a new life; he became an unwearied evangelist among the heathen who could not understand his change of conduct. . . .Before the arrival of missionaries he [a man north of Toba Sea] had been led in marvelous ways to doubt heathenism, and had been brought to Christianity by a Gospel of Luke that had come into his hands. His history is all the more surprising because no other Battaks can read. . . ." [Lett, Krumm, Fries, Rhine Missionaries, and Merensky are quoted in support of the author's claims.][57]

Since the Japanese penalty for conversion to Christianity was death, when the Protestant missionaries arrived, those who first became Christians would be likely to be men of individuality. As it happened, the first converts were a high official, Wakasa, and his brother Ayabe.[58]

"Mr. Ensor had been but a month in Nagasaki, when, as he wrote:

" 'Day by day, hour after hour, my house would be thronged with Japanese visitors, all curious to know something about England, and her science and art and progress, but, most of all, about her religion. They knew that she was a power among the nations, and believed that religion and power in a state are inseparable.' " [Christianity was still legally under the ban and these visitors under surveillance.][59]

Aside from conversion and inquiry about Christianity, however, it was men of personal initiative and public standing in Japan that first secured the services of the dangerous and despised missionary in order to acquire the benefits which his knowledge might bring them. Influence, control, power were dominant in their objectives:

"On September 7th, 1867, Mr. Verbeck wrote:

"'Last month the Prince of Kaga placed a fine steamer at my disposition to visit his country. He is the wealthiest of the Japanese princes, and wishes me to come to his state to establish a school similar to the one at this place. I have invitations more or less direct to the same effect from the puissant Prince of Satsuma, the Prince of Tosa of the island of Shikoku, and the Prince of Hizen of Kiushiu. These four are among the foremost princes of Japan, all wishing to go forward on foreign principles. Wish it were on Christian. During the last twenty-four months, I have had visits from relations of three powerful princes and of two Imperial governors.'"[60]

4. THE EXPRESSIVE URGE IN ACQUISITIVE INTERESTS

One of the most clearly specialized kinds of activity satisfying the innate expressive tendencies, is the acquisitive. It appears in casual and isolated behavior; it appears in definite purposes and fixed ambitions to acquire all sorts of things; it appears in the adult habit of acquiring regardless of the use to which money and objects may be put.

In a naively simple way the early missionaries were welcomed by the inhabitants of America, Africa, or Oceania who wanted the white man's *trinkets and* the white man's *magic*.

'"Once a Fortnight in ye Summer Season a Minister from New London [Rev. Eliphalet Adams] used to come up and the Indians to attend; not that they regarded the Christian Religion, but they had Blankets given to them every Fall of the year and for these things they would attend. And there was a Sort of a School Kept, when I was quite young, but I believe there never was one that ever Learnt to read anything. And when I was about ten years of age there was a man [Jonathon Barber] who went about among the Indian Wigwams, and wherever he could find the Indian Children would make them read, but the Children used to take Care to keep out of his Way: and he used to Catch me sometimes and make me Say over my Letters and I believe I learnt some of them. But this was Soon over too, and all this Time there was not one amongst us that made a Profession of Christianity.'" [He was later converted.][61]

In a speech in 1873 Crowther declared: "When I went to the banks of the Niger I saw Mohammedans opening their schools, and men and women went to them. What did they go for? To receive scraps of the Koran. When a man goes to

the market he will go to the priest and ask for success in his trade, and a mother will go and ask for prosperity in her household. The Mohammedan priest issues scraps of paper to these people. He tells the man who goes to market to tie one of these scraps of paper round his neck and he will be successful; and he tells the mother who goes to ask for prosperity in her household that it shall be well with her. And the poor, superstitious people receive these papers, and when anything happens as was foretold the child becomes a Mohammedan. I was applied to by heathen to give them scraps of paper the same as the Mohammedan priest did, and I refused. Even some of our friends, the Europeans, would say: 'Give them papers, it does no harm.'"[62]

"Mr. Paton got into conversation with a man who knew Tannese pretty well and was urging 'Missi' to remain. Mr. Paton asked him why he was so anxious for that, and the man ingenuously replied that when he was over in Tanna he saw him have a number of boxes and that he gave the Natives clothes and other things! But, as Mr. Inglis very wisely remarked, we cannot expect them to long intelligently for Christianity before they know what it is. They see only the outside tokens of its presence."[63]

Certain mass movements excepted, missionaries usually take pains to prevent actual joining of their churches for avowedly material motives. Yet, note the excuse of Mr. Inglis of the way they regard the use of material inducements in securing initial interest and approval! That this interest does not persist in a rationalized form at the time of conversion, obviously calls for proof.

Throughout missionary reports from schools of all sorts, we see evidences of an acquisitive interest widespread and continuous, bringing natives to the missionary's group. To supplement our comments under the preceding topics, pupils are so nearly *supported* in many places that they are said to be pauperized.

Stanton of South India declares:

"Under the present system we take boys and girls into our schools from the infant standard, and feed, clothe, and educate them for six, eight, and ten years, without their ever paying one pie for their education, or at most the barest pittance. In so doing we are pauperising our people and making beggars of them. We are instilling into their minds from infancy the utter-

ly false idea that the mission owes them a living, and that they have a right to be fed of its bounty. Our boarding schools are crowded with boys who are there simply to be fed and clothed. We have no effective means of testing them, and of separating the worthy from the unworthy. If, on the other hand, every boy had to work for his education it would soon become manifest how many of them had any real desire to learn."[64]

Referring to all Protestant missions in general the Report says:

"There are frequent references to the subject of the expense of education in boarding schools and residence in hostels, and to the closely connected subject of the danger of pauperising parents and students by relieving them of expense which they ought properly to bear themselves. For example, one correspondent writes: 'Christian parents would willingly hand over their children to be boarded or educated at mission expense, but this is not allowed.' . . . .

"The practice seems to vary from the requirement that the whole cost, both of board, clothing, and education, should be met by the parents or students themselves, down to that of accepting a larger or smaller proportion of the whole, according to the estimate formed of the ability of parents or students to pay it."[65]

But altogether aside from support, the same direct motive is quite patent in many a mission school *where employment* by the mission *has frequently followed education*—status is often a motive accompanying it.

"At present the education we offer is valued chiefly because in a certain proportion of cases it leads to a schoolmaster's post in the service of the mission, which, though very moderately paid, carries with it a sure income and a certain dignity. That this is the ground of the value attached to it is shown by the different feelings with which a boy's education and a girl's are regarded. Places in the boys' school are eagerly sought, while vacancies in the girls' school are with difficulty filled up. The difficulty is due to the fact that child labour in the fields is rewarded with a small wage. The parent in the case of a boy is willing to forego this pecuniary value on the chance of his ultimately securing the rank of a teacher. But in the case of a girl, seeing that the only material advantage to be derived from the education is that she may ultimately become a teacher's wife, he is

not willing to lose the profits of her work even to secure an education which together with food and clothing are offered in our boarding school at the rate of two pence a month. Undoubtedly the education we offer appears to our people to have too little bearing on the life that the majority have to lead."[66]

Again it has operated in Africa and India where graduation leads directly to government service, and where student graduates cannot be induced to remain to teach or follow other pursuits bringing smaller remuneration.

Speaking of the African, Mr. Stormont reports:

". . . .most natives regard the monetary value of education more than the moral."[67]

". . . .1823, when a General Committee of Public Instruction was appointed, to advise Government with regard to the state of Education in Bengal, ...

. . . . . .

". . . .The report showed fourteen institutions under their control with 3490 pupils, of whom 240 were shown as studying in the English Department. . . .It is noted that the bulk of the students under oriental teaching receive stipends of Rs. 5 and Rs. 8 per mensem, while the bulk of the students of English and Vernacular are charged fees."[68]

"In Burma," writes Fyffe, Mandalay, "One of our great needs is the development of industrial training. The difficulty, however, is to get the natives to pay any attention to it. The one idea of those who come for Anglo-vernacular education in Burma, is to get into Government service. And it is only in so far as it can be shown that technical education leads to such service that it will succeed at present."[69]

It is operative in many of those youths who attend school, Y.M.C.A., and Bible classes solely to get English, for in India English is usually a prerequisite to government service, and in China and Japan the native with English is desired in native stores, telegraph offices, and in foreign stores and offices.

"In considering the place of English in the schools today, it is to be remembered that there has been a strong demand for this subject on the part of Chinese students, and it has been believed by many that, unless the missionary schools supplied this demand, there would be serious risk of losing many of those who would otherwise come to them.

"Even Government schools teach English, and to some extent use it as a medium of instruction in the higher work. Some of the strong men among China's rulers have been prepared for their position by such a course of study, and when a high official does not know English he finds it necessary to surround himself by those who have obtained it."[70]

A native informant in one of the well-known Chinese cities reports: "Miss————had a school here where they taught English and foreign branches. Chinese came for that. When the school dropped English and cut down the number of foreign subjects taught, establishing a normal school taught in Chinese, the pupils lessened. The attendance decreased greatly. For the Chinese have their own schools to teach Chinese language, history, etc., and think their own normal schools are much better for that than foreigners' normal schools." This statement was verified by foreigners in the city.

A missionary report from Japan in 1866, reads:

". . . .The first decisive sympton of the abatement of suspicions on the part of the Government was the sending of about a dozen young men of rank from Yedo [Tokio] to Kanagawa to be taught English by one of the missionaries. More recently the Governors of Nagasaki and this place authorised schools to be opened for a similar purpose under their auspices, and the Protestant missionaries were invited to take charge of them."[71]

The Edinburgh Report of 1910 declares:

". . . .Bible classes for both men and women, especially if they are accompanied by an opportunity for learning English, are attractive to the Japanese, and afford exceptional opportunities for getting into personal touch with students and officials, and expounding to them the essentials of the Christian system."[72]

The same is true of schools for Orientals in America:

"Outside of British Columbia the Chinese are reached in many cities by volunteer workers in various Churches, who conduct Sunday Schools and in some cases week-night classes. While it may be taken for granted that the Chinese usually attend these classes for the sake of learning English, there have been many gratifying results both in conversions and in the general influence exerted upon their lives."[73]

From the beginning of foreign trade and employment under a foreign government or among foreigners this demand for English has brought students to mission schools simply because the

foreign instructor was known to provide the best teaching in the foreign language, and the foreign language was desired as a means to remunerative employment,—though also, in many cases, to greater power and recognition.

There is no question of immediate hunger or fatigue with most of these students, nor even of their family's inability to secure food and shelter for them. And though the desire for recognition and certain more specialized motives doubtless come in, the fundamental acquisitive interest is probably the dominant one influencing many non-Christian families to send their children to mission schools. This desire in turn may become the student's, though others operate strongly, as we have seen.

5. SELF-REGARD: THE RANGE FROM SELF-FEELING TO GROUP INFLUENCE

With difficulty has the non-Christian's desire for greater prestige, recognition, and self-distinction been kept out of the discussion thus far. Almost inextricably has it been interwoven with many instances of desire for acquisitions, for adventure and self-assertion and power, for economic and social preferment in general. The inherent need for self-regard can scarcely be separated from the other tendencies, for instance, in such cases as this one:

> ". . . .A Hindu (or Animist?) [Male, conversion age 24:] 'With a motive of being good leaders among our fellows and in order to set an example, my friend and I sought Christ, feeling that He had called us.' "[74]

To begin with the self as described by William James, however, *self-feeling* is ordinarily attached to one's possession, activities, beliefs, and sentiments. One's children are sometimes at the core of one's self-feeling, and on that account may be the cause of favorable responses to missions.

> ". . . .I often gained the ears and sympathies of my first audience in a heathen village by showing them that the fruits of purity in its Christian sense meant healthier babies and stronger and better children. Mothers listened eagerly to this."[75]

> "Not long ago a heathen merchant debated what to do with his only son. The boy might grow up a profligate. In this case there would be no posterity. He might be sent to the Christian school at Tainan; this would involve the risk of his joining the Church, which the father deemed undesirable; but it was thought better to have Christian descendants than to have none at all, and therefore the boy was sent to school."[76]

Yet even these most intimate aspects of self-feeling, judging by the unprecise accounts available, are linked with other tendencies.

Now any self-feeling is the product of one's present as over against one's previous possessions, activities, beliefs, and sentiments, or as over against those of others; and the more these various objects or characteristics are thought of as a part of the self—that is, the more a self is abstracted and recognized as a general sort of awareness-of-the-I in connection with these things —the more this self-feeling becomes *self-esteem.* In the case of the father, the self-feeling attached to his son seems to have operated thus consciously to some degree, therefore, as self-esteem. The loss of certain possessions may operate as loss of self-feeling—that we find symptoms of in some cases. The loss of sources of self-esteem, operates the same way and is easier to identify.

> ". . . .Educationists are needed more than doctors. The moment a Moslem finds that there are whole realms of knowledge which have not come through Islam at all, his bigotry in regard to Islam receives a great shock."[77]

The so-called "sting of conscience" is a form of lowered self-esteem.

The self-regard of most men in restricted groups consists to a large extent in what the group thinks of them. Here self-esteem passes into others' esteem, or, *recognition.* The standing which a wealthy Chinese woman has in her own and others' eyes, for instance, impels her to seek the foreign education her poorer neighbors have secured.

> A woman patient from an Opium Refuge, on her return home produced "the copy of St. John's Gospel which she had bought, and . . .could read. It was hard for Mrs.Liang to see

the former degraded opium smoker ahead of her in learning, and she persuaded her husband to give her the needed help. She borrowed the book and started at the first chapter." [This was the means of her ultimate conversion.][78]

To be an ordinary member of an oppressed submissive group is to have a correspondingly contracted self-regard. To be what a popular or self-prestiged group stresses, or what it expects its members to be, is to acquire an expanded self-regard. The group may be a family, most of whom are Christians, or it may be a gang, a dormitory group, a school group, a town group.

". . . .(Christian). [Male, conversion age 18:] 'The most marked motive that led me to seek a higher life was this—I thought my father and his brothers and my mother were all good Christians, so of course, I thought it better to be a Christian, too.' "[79]

In any of them, *the group's estimate* of what constitutes profit, prosperity, advancement, or status, may operate because it is the group's, far more than because it would correspond to the individual's opinion if he were outside of the group's influence. *How* much more, depends upon the state of group organization, the other group relationships of the individual, and the reach of his imaginative and reflective idealization.

The pendulum may swing in either direction from this usual type of group influence. On the one hand, there is an extreme type of *peaceful coercion* which Uchimura experienced at the hands of his fellow-students; on the other hand, there are elusive aspects of *personal attraction* which, so far as they are not a product of sex, should probably be ascribed to perception of mutuality with its self-enhancement, and to satisfaction in the milder forms of submissive, mastering, or sociable attitudes.

A Chinese business man told the writer that he and many other Chinese were originally drawn to a Westerner's mission school to get an education, because Japan's victory over China showed that the West had given Japan power. But neither willingness to accord individual missionaries any esteem nor desire to emulate them, resulted. These waited upon investigation of

the missionaries by the natives. They enquired into their salary, their home life, the way they spent their time, etc., quite fully to find out why they had come over to China. They seemed forced to the conclusion, he said, that they had come for the good of China. Henceforth they approved them, more easily grew to like them, and lent themselves to the influence of their lives, teaching, and beliefs.[80]

Warneck traces at some length the way in which the initial suspicions of the primitive natives give way when he finds no "ulterior" motives and no deceit, and are replaced by this sort of confidence.[81]

". . . .[Uchimura:] I was then a Freshman in a Government College, where by an effort of a New England Christian scientist, the whole of the upper class (there were but two classes then in the whole college) had already been converted to Christianity. The imperious attitude of the Sophomores toward the 'baby Freshmen' is the same the world over, and when to it was added a new religious enthusiasm and spirit of propagandism, their impressions upon the poor 'Freshies' can easily be imagined. . . .I alone was left a 'heathen,' the much detested idolator, the incorrigible worshipper of wood and stones. I well remember the extremity and loneliness to which I was reduced then. . . .

"The public opinion of the college was too strong against me, which it was beyond my power to withstand. They forced me to sign the covenant given below, somewhat in a manner of extreme temperance men prevailing upon an incorrigible drunkard to sign a temperance pledge. I finally yielded and signed it. I often asked myself whether I ought to have refrained from submitting myself to such a coercion. I was but a mere lad of sixteen then, and the boys who thus forced me 'to come in' were all much bigger than I. So, you see, my first step toward Christianity was a forced one, against my will, and I must confess, somewhat against my conscience too. The covenant I signed read as follows: . . . ."[82]

After a life-time of prejudice and apprehension regarding the foreigner, the Chinese scholar, Hsi, confronted David Hill, a missionary. In Hsi's words:

"One look, one word, it was enough. . . .All sense of fear was gone: my mind was at rest. I beheld his kindly eye, and remembered the words of Mencius: 'If a man's heart is not right, his eye will certainly bespeak it.' That face told me I was in the presence of a true, good man."[83]

This, however, brings us to a type of reaction which is prevalent enough to warrant consideration by itself—the social intimacy type.

6. SELF-REGARD FROM PRIMARY GROUP APPROVAL: INTIMATE SOCIABILITY

It is obvious to any observer of missions that the self-regarding interest operates effectively in intimate sociability as a species of primary group approval.

Employed as a Method of Missionary Propaganda.—Enter an average missionary's home, listen to the conversation for a week, or attend the "personal workers' meetings" during any evangelistic campaign, and you will find assumed, just as much as it is in judicial technique, in salesmanship, and in political campaigning,[84] that responses of personal agreeableness, favor, interest, confidence and even admiration, are being evoked and manipulated for the purpose in hand.

> "The printed or written Word may partly replace the personal among educated heathen, but among lower peoples the message in and by itself and its contents will only in rare cases be effective. A warm, personal, loving influence is needed to melt the wall of ice that is around the heathen heart. . . .The consequence is an appreciation of this person, nay, more, confidence, and finally responsive love. That secures a basis for the preaching of the Gospel."[85]

> Crowther asserts, "A Mohammedan can never be brought round by his religion being quarrelled with and abusively charged with falsehood and imposition, but by kind treatment he may be led to read and study the Christian's Bible, which by the blessing of God may lead him from the error of his way."[86]

Now there are *particular classes of people* and particular times in most men's lives when sociability is especially acceptable. These are capitalized where possible. Children and youth who are dealt with rigorously by their parents or associates, are treated with more latitude and with little courtesies by the missionaries. Poor who are despised and neglected by their fellows, are often solicitously cared for by the missionary. With these two classes he usually comes into close contact, and they

undoubtedly respond appreciatively to his personal interest in them, the more because of their previous treatment.

> "The worst 'rough-neck' in school burnt himself with chemicals. ———————— and his wife washed the boy's burn with ammonia, cleaned his coat, and bound up the wound. He was astonished; he had never had anyone interested in him that way before. He told it everywhere. The main result was that he became a warm friend of ————————. At the end of two years when this teacher was coming back to the United States, the boy told him that he had stayed in school because he liked him (the teacher), and therefore was now going to leave. The teacher urged him to stay and he consented. Letters from the boy show that he has entered various Christian activities and is coming on fine!"[87]

"The glad hand" extended to a stranger attending a Bible class or religious service, and the well-known devices of making such a one "feel at home" in city churches and larger communities, are a recognition that the sense of intimate sociability is a basic need which may actually be manipulated by groups. Every mission adopts this more ceremonial technique as a matter of course, but continually, day by day, the missionary is supposed to be "making friends," "gaining confidences," "using his personal influence," with the aim of "putting over" his religion.

In cases where direct types of propagandism such as evangelistic preaching are ineffective or opposed, *schools* are employed. In these, along with discipline, prayer, Bible stories, and the usual Christian rites, the intimate influence of the teacher is an important factor in winning over the pupils, which is definitely counted on.

> It is the testimony of a Christian convert from Hinduism that "a young lad belonging to our caste persuaded me to join the Free Church Institution, which he himself attended. It was in August, 1849 that I was admitted into it . . .this I did with much hesitation, because the teacher was a converted Brahman (Mr. Narayan Sheshadri) . . .the circumstance that he retained his national custume, and still more, his great amiability, removed the dislike I had to him on account of his adoption of a foreign religion.

"He would often inquire after the health of my relatives; and this used to please me much, so that I began to love him greatly."[88]

The actual experience of missions bears out the value, from their viewpoint, of this factor:

"Much of the religious influence of these schools upon the Moslems must, however, come from their personal relations with the Christian teachers, and great care should be taken that these teachers are living examples of what it is to be a disciple of the Lord Jesus Christ. Such a teacher might do good even in a Moslem Government school."[89]

Overworked directors of mission stations and depleted faculties are generally regarded by missionary leaders as baneful conditions because they prevent missionaries from spending time in personal association calculated to exert uplifting influence upon the pupils.

"We believe that much of the work at present carried on is ineffective and almost valueless from the missionary point of view because the staff is insufficient to cope with the demands made upon it. If a college or school is to be maintained at all it should be equipped and staffed in such a way that it can reach the highest standard educationally, and the number of Christian teachers should be sufficient to leave them leisure to come into intimate personal relations with the students, and exert a direct missionary influence upon them. To the larger institutions, it seems to us, there should be attached one or more men, possessing the necessary gifts,whose main work it should be to make friends with the students, to keep in touch with those who have left, and where opportunity offers to engage in literary work. We venture to urge upon the Missionary Boards the necessity of the adequate staffing of missionary educational institutions, as a matter that perhaps more than any other needs immediate attention."[90]

In government schools the same tactics are employed.

Of Japanese Government school students, the same commission says:

"One way of reaching these students is through the Christian teacher, Japanese or foreign. One who is in a position to know says: 'Given quiet, conscientious, well-educated, Christian gentlemen, with a ready smile, tact, and a sense of humour sufficient to keep them from absurdities, and there is hardly

any limit to the influence which they can exercise over their pupils and colleagues, even in these last days, when the foreign teacher is no longer the demigod he was once supposed to be.'

"Through the Young Men's Christian Association some seventy-five Christian teachers of English have been placed in Government schools. Out of school hours they are free to exercise a Christian influence. The importance of this opening for really trained teachers can hardly be exaggerated. A considerable number of missionaries likewise teach English for one or two hours a week in a Government school in order to get into touch with the students, for whom they often conduct Bible classes out of school hours."[91]

Sometimes an auxiliary institution is established chiefly, if not entirely, to capitalize the social-intimacy interests. The most clear-cut device for getting this interest under control is the school *dormitory or hostel.* It is found that a teacher can "influence" his pupils toward the kind of conduct he desires, if he can spend time with them in a hostel or dormitory.

The Educational Commission's comments on the India situation are typical:

"Whether the aim of educational effort be the training of Christian youth, or the impression of Christian ideas and principles on those who are not yet Christians, the result attained will depend, in the main, upon personal influence. From this point of view, we must note what is perhaps the most marked development of missionary educational policy during the past decade—that is, the introduction in colleges and schools of the residential system . . .it is not too much to say that the opinion is becoming prevalent that the chief hope of educational missions in large centres of population lies in the direction of the establishment and maintenance of hostels . . .the influence of the hostel must be a personal influence; therefore the numbers in the hostel must be in proportion to the staff, and the staff must be selected in view of the capacity of its members for influence and discipline, both moral and intellectual. . . . ."[92]

The existence of a national *deference to teachers* found in some mores is particularly fortuitous, and is utilized consciously by propagandists.

". . . . I should like to emphasize the enormous importance of getting hold of students of the normal schools in Japan, for

when these students, both men and women, go out over the country as teachers of the young, you can imagine what their influence will be. A Japanese child will do what his school teacher tells him. If his teacher tells him not to go to Sunday School he will not go. It has been found in many country villages that a flourishing school has been almost stopped because the day-school teacher had not been in favour of Christianity. If the day-school teachers are in favour of it, the children will flock to the Sunday Schools. In the towns, of course, one does not notice it so much. It is of enormous importance that as much should be done as possible with the students of the normal schools."[93]

". . . .In Africa, the personality of the teacher is the essential thing in education—instruction in the art of teaching is only one means to the desired end."[94]

To the most obstinate communities, the closed field, the *medical missionary* is sent. In relieving pain, the doctor arouses as a secondary tendency a direct confidence which overcomes suspicion and hatred. This is possibly the most obvious case in which the Christian group professionalizes and manipulates personal relations, as does the promoter in business, politics, and other lines.

"The C.M.S. mission at Srinagar in Kashmir, which is now one of the most successful in India, was started by a medical missionary, Dr. Elmslie, in 1865, after several unsuccessful attempts to preach the Christian faith had been made by other missionaries. The United Presbyterian mission at Joypore in Rajputana was the result of a successful treatment by a medical missionary, Dr. Valentine, of the wife of the Maharajah."[95]

"It has been the well-nigh universal experience of missionaries who have worked among Moslems that the best, and often the only, way by which a successful appeal can be made is by means of medical missions. The experience of Dr. Pennell on the borders of Afghanistan, Dr. W. Miller in Northern Nigeria, and many others, is the same, namely, that the prejudices of Moslems against the Christian faith can best be combated by the practical demonstration of the love of Jesus Christ which is embodied in a medical mission."[96]

"A large proportion of the Christians in my district trace their faith back to the seed sown in the hospitals, which is not

to be wondered at when one realizes that upwards of twelve thousand people come under Christian influence in this way every year."[97]

When Peking was being besieged in the Boxer Rebellion of 1900, the lots for Soochow University in Kiangsu Province, China, where being purchased by foreigners. Even the graves of the Chinese dead were being removed! The day that the news came of the fall of the American Legation walls and of the murder of missionaries and other foreigners within them, the pattern was selected by Chinese and foreigners together for the wall to surround the new Soochow University grounds. Vicious hatred of foreign devils in Peking, utmost confidence in the friendship of a foreign missionary doctor in Soochow—for a decade's medical ministration of W. H. Park had broken through Chinese prejudices and won over official and gentry leaders of Soochow. Now they wanted Western education. Thirty to a hundred of them contributed over $15,000.00 at a meeting in the physician's home, giving the movement their hearty support.[98]*

Native preachers and colporteurs, distributors of propagandic literature, report that in some districts they get the people's ear easiest by informing them that they come from the mission compound of such and such a missionary physician and hospital. This was true of the Soochow doctor mentioned above. Undoubtedly the element of prestige enters here as in the case of the teacher: a doctor is per se a man of uncalculable power as well as of good will, and the usual pronounced favor or disfavor seems to have an enhancing effect here.

Relieving pain or discomfort, appeasing hunger and providing protection are often therefore most closely linked with this intimate sociability aspect of self-regard. The different interests operate in successive stages or even simultaneously: the relief of pain may have as its after-effect, being-intimate, and that, something else. Let a man or his child be brought back to health from a dangerous illness, and there is most likely to follow a secondary reaction of gratitude; which in turn will often bring with it that personal trust and confidence that has made the

*It should be said that throughout the Province of Kiangsu much of the prejudice found in other parts of China against the foreigner had been considerably counteracted.

medical missionary so effective against prejudice, so effective in definite evangelism.

A Force among "Natural" Associates.—The evidence given thus far is not peculiar to preacher, teacher and doctor. Non-Christians and pre-converts are found responding in the same way to the friend, the parent or child, the brother or sister. The cases most likely to contain the detail we desire are naturally the most striking ones such as that of Uchimura.

> "My father was ill for three days and could not move himself on account of rheumatism. But when he heard of my safe arrival he rose up and welcomed me with the fatherly tenderness. When I hailed him he stooped down without a word. I noticed his tears dropping on the floor. . . .
>
> "Soon after my arrival. . . .I gathered my parents and sisters and succeeded in reading your letter to them. Before I got half through all of them began to weep, being much affected by your parental kindness shown to me. My father told me you were our saviour and our gods. Then I told him he must not make his American friends, gods. If he feels grateful for their kind deeds he must worship that one God, Creator of the Universe, and Saviour of mankind, who is the God of his American friends. I mentioned still further to him that you became so good and kind even to a wandering stranger because you are the worshippers of true God and the humble followers of Christ; that you saved me from a miserable condition and gave me necessary education that I might become a teacher of glad tidings to our benighted people; that you loved our people as much as your own American people. Since that time my father discontinued to worship the Japanese gods and his ancestors. By his consent I took down all the paper, wooden, earthen, and brass gods from shelves where they were kept, and burned them up. . . .There are no gods nor images in this house now. I trust they will be worshippers of the true God hereafter. . . ."[99]

In Personal Relations to Imaginatively Conceived Spirits.—Under the heading of social-intimacy belongs the response to an imaginatively conceived being such as that of the invisible Jesus or God. The interest in the approval of a being thus conceived is quite different from an interest later to be described as that in restating norms or beliefs about God; it may follow that

interest and function with it if the norm be Jesus' life or attitude, or if the belief be one about God. It is different also from the fear-inferiority response which comes from a sense of possible supernatural punishment in this life or another world. Nearer to it is the following case where God is conceived of as a great person, although there is some indication that the fear of punishment may be more prominent in this subject than susceptibility to the social-intimacy relation.

> "At fourteen years of age she (Ai Do, a pupil in a mission school for girls) sat one Sunday evening reading her Bible and came to the words: 'The Lord seeth not as man seeth; man looketh on the outward appearance, the Lord looketh on the heart.' She stopped and pondered. . . .In that hour her peace was made, and henceforth she served and trusted God through all the vicissitudes of her short life."[100]

This is about as definite as a whole mass of cases called "conviction of sin." In some of them a dim sense of fear of consequences may function—as we shall see presently; in some, a vague sense of the approval of a powerful distant being is evident; in others, approval becomes a matter of personal intimacy which attaches the other individual to one's self.

> "In these records with which we are dealing the consciousness of sin cannot be said to be strong. Out of 263 detailed cases of conversion only 127 mention it at all, in spite of a direct question on the subject. . . ."[101]
>
> ". . . .[Male, conversion age 26:] 'I was conscious that some things I did were wrong, but I had not the conviction that they were sinful.' [Male, conversion age 20:] 'I was conscious of my sin now and then, not out of fear of God but out of respect for my character.' [Female, conversion age 16:] 'I was conscious of my sinful condition but did not feel it the heavy burden that some do.' [Male, conversion age 12:] 'I was conscious of sin, but it did not worry me.' "[102]
>
> ". . . .[Male, age 19:] 'No, sinfulness from a Muslim standpoint has not that idea of heinousness common to a Christian.' "[103]

Where approval by supernatural beings enters at all significantly, conviction of sin brings an attempt to raise that self-esteem by penance, good works, and other means.

The response to a prestiged but personally conceived Deity is often a *vivid* one. The ability to make that response may have been the result of months and years of tutelage with the propagandist's technique; viz., church attendance, listening to preaching, Bible study, meditation and prayer, or it may be easily acquired.

> ". . . .(Christian) [Male, conversion age 18:] 'It was the love of Christ that drew me to Him.' [Female, conversion age 12:] 'The motive with me was that I wished to love Christ and be loved by Him.' "[104]

> ". . . .'The idea of God the Father is easily and readily accepted by the Bantu mind' (Wilder). 'The truth of the Fatherhood of God, and of His love and care for each of His children, seems most to appeal to the Zulu mind' (Johnson).
>
> " 'When it has been realized that God is a being personally interested in His children the effect has been astonishing' (Balmer). 'The friendship or *love* of God is the most powerful element of appeal. In the past, the unseen has been peopled with hostile forces—at least they seem to be hostile wherever they touch the life of the people' (Callaway). This love is proclaimed to the Animist and received by him as the love of an Eternal Father manifesting itself in mercy, loving-kindness, and favour to and care for us, His children, and in His gift of His Son. One missionary, however, found that the doctrine of God's love was derided. 'The love of God,' says Dr. Nassau, writing of the Bantu tribes of West Africa, 'was beyond belief.' "[105]*

It should be noted by way of conclusion that the category used in this section has illustrated precisely the principle laid down in the Appendices I and II for the derivation of categories; viz., that the primary urges are essentially guiding lines beneath the surface while the sub-categories designate types of more or less objective behavior. The primary urges deal with forces that may be likened to great fluid currents of air sweeping over the landscape; the sub-categories are concerned with behavior that may be likened to the movements of leaves and branches and trees caused by the currents of air —and it is these latter that we

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*The element of security may possibly be stronger in some of these cases than the professed element of response to prestiged friendliness.

give minute attention to in our study of individual and group behavior. Our knowledge of the currents of air is of use mainly in warning us against hypotheses about the movements of leaves and branches that are based on magic and dreams: more precisely, it prevents us from trying to describe those movements in terms that are inconsistent with cause and effect, the stimulus and response, involved in the drive and swirl of the wind currents.

Thus the intimate sociability phenomena are something definite and precise of which we can take cognizance. But our handling of the data and our inclusion of the god-relation with the human, are due to our background knowledge of innate needs for recognition, self-regard, self-esteem, and of their "indirect expression" through related types of behavior. The same is true of the next category, "group status."

7. SELF-REGARD FROM INTER-GROUP APPROVAL: GROUP STATUS

Preliminary Definitions and Illustrative Data.—Social intimacy is a primary group reaction implying a reciprocal personal relation that we are familiar with among chums and those who are susceptible to one another in the realm of confidences. It therefore represents one pole of recognition. The other pole is represented by the secondary group approval of members of the nation, race, or economic or intellectual class to which we belong.

In both primary and secondary group relations the reciprocity may be one between the individual and the members of a given group. A reciprocity is possible also between groups. A given community may give honor to a certain professional class, either within it or without: as a group this class has a high status in the eyes of the community. The line where reciprocity passes from one between an individual and a group to one between two groups, cannot be easily drawn.

In the discussion of "Primary Life Needs in Economic and Social Interests," a quotation from Dr. Stewart of Lovedale was given to the effect that African peoples want education partly from a belief that mental work lifts one to a higher social class. An even more extreme case is the one given by Mr. Taylor

> of Natal, South Africa, in speaking of the failure "to use the vernacular in the early stages of education. This he traces partly to regulations imposed by Government, and partly to the urgency of parents, who conceive that true education lies in English and even in dead languages."[106]

This is met with commonly, even among cultured peoples. Its source seems to lie in a fundamental interest in the status aspect of self-regard, on the one hand, and in a temporary prestige in the mores for so-called mental education, on the other. Schooling is therefore sought at the hands of the missions as a means of securing that status. Thus the prestiged factors in a foreign culture if embraced by a number of people, carry status and are sought for that status.

The heightened or exaggerated popularity called *prestige** may be ascribed to a single product or technique of a civilization or to the civilization as an undifferentiated whole. Take a primitive man who asks Christians to pray for him.

> "Nottrott also speaks highly of the power of prayer among the Christian Kols; heathen often come to Christians and ask for their prayers."[107]

It is probably because there attaches to the Christian's prayer a prestige, an acute belief that his prayer is an effective magic, an effective manipulative technique to meet the particular need prayed for. When a primitive chieftain attaches himself to a prestiged foreigner and, before the eyes of his own people, identifies himself with this representative of greater power and prosperity, we suspect that he is seeking to save himself from

*". . . .Every socius has some degree of causal efficiency as a modifier of the activities of his associates. Whatever heightens the causal efficiency of an individual or of a class so as to make that individual or class more effective as the source of social suggestion, radiation, and imitation is said to give prestige." Hayes, 324. See also 323-332.

E. A. Ross in his *Social Control* notes the following kinds of prestige: of numbers; of age, or of the elders; of prowess, as in the case of athletes and military leaders; of sanctity, or of the priestly class; of inspiration, or of the prophets; of place, or of the official class; of money, or of the rich; of ideas, or of the elite; of learning, or of the mandarins. Hayes adds the prestige of birth, or of the family.

See also Leopold's *Prestige*.

being completely overshadowed by the acknowledged superiority of the alien and to avail himself of some of the other's recognition and prestige, as well as to satisfy other miscellaneous interests.

> ". . . .I don't mean to infer that conversions have taken place already, though the conduct of a few of them is almost everything that we could wish. . . . The Chief, who lives in the village near, is our firm friend. . . .He talks so quietly and gently to everybody, except when any one has been *breaking the Missi's word*, as he styles it, and then I don't care about being too near him! He digs his great toe into the coral and sends it flying round him like hailstones, while he relieves his burdened soul by pouring forth a perfect torrent of abuse on the guilty party.
>
> ". . . .it is his great delight to go at night and catch the flying-fish, which he brings to the Cook-house early in the morning, giving Kanathie strict orders to have them prepared for our breakfast. His eyes really glisten with delight as he sees us enjoy them, for he makes himself our unfailing guest every morning and evening. . . .He always comes in before the Worship on Sabbath and Wednesday, takes in Mr. Paton's Bible, and lays it on the reading-desk. Every evening, also, he collects the people for Worship, which we have under a large Banyan tree, in the Meeting Ground of the people, just outside our fence."[108]

But when groups before whom the newcomer has prestige, think that by turning themselves over to his guidance and tutelage or by adopting his ceremonies, customs, and beliefs, they rise in their own and others' estimation, then they are evidently trying to appropriate directly and permanently technique that will give them a heightened prestige as groups. Prestige of this sort is group status, increased approval and regard in the eyes of another group. As this aspect of self-regard is less stressed than individual secondary group approval, we are taking it up in some detail.

There are certain large sections of population where Occidental peoples have had prestige and therefore high status in the eyes of the indigenous people. It is among these that this inter-group aspect of self-regard would be likely to operate on a large scale in provoking an approving, seeking attitude toward Christian propaganda. And it is there, it has done so. Take

a striking instance where the processes usually at work in such cases stand out clearly—that of the *outcastes of India* said to comprise from a fifth to a sixth of the population of that country. The fact that their status is low is beyond dispute.

> "In the words of the memorial presented to Mr. Montagu at Bombay by the 'Depressed' Indian Association, their 'social condition . . .is so miserable that it is impossible to point out on the earth's surface any parallel to it. They are treated by the rest of the Indians,—Hindus, Muhammadans, Jains, and all—as if they were worse than beasts. They are not allowed to live in villages or towns, they are deemed untouchables. . . .' "[109]

The basic condition here seems to be one where the capacity and urge for recognition is so much greater than the means of satisfying it—not to speak of other urges—that the ordinary interests-satisfying-needs process is totally unbalanced, and there is therefore a group readiness to accept innovations bringing more satisfaction.

> "The inferior classes, for instance, cannot but feel that they have a very small place in Brahmanic Hinduism. The lowest castes may not enter the temples of Siva or Vishnu. They are not recognized as Hindus. Consequently, if a religious reformer arises, preaching that all men are equal and offering a religion in which the Brahman has no pride of place, the common people hear him gladly."[110]*

As noted above in discussing the "Primary Life Needs in Economic and Social Interests," this is the class of people among whom Christianity has won the great bulk of its converts.

> "New converts are not seeking money, and if they did they would seek in vain. What they crave are larger opportunities of life, ...For the outcastes, Hinduism has no message but of contempt. . . .In Travancore the outcastes were forbidden to dress with decency and were compelled to flee to the hedge when the high caste man approached. . . .It is not surprising that such have turned to Christianity in their thousands, seeking not only a better religion but the opportunities of manhood."[111]

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*Another factor facilitating this readiness in India is referred to elsewhere; viz., that the history of the people is a history of continuous birth, division, combination, and disappearance of sect after sect, and therefore the opposition to changes in Gods is not so rigidly crystalized as it is among some peoples. Holderness, 117.

Further comment is scarcely necessary in view of Chapter Two's discussion of the susceptibility of loosely organized groups, although we revert to the movement of these masses continually in our outline. There can be no question but that the desire for recognition operates here in whole communities at a time.

To what extent the movement observed in small groups and communities has its counterpart throughout the whole 60,000,000 of these people, is the sort of question that calls for a careful defining of the situation. It is a question of how far there has been and is genuine dissatisfaction and how far more inert expressionless contentment with the status quo—until propaganda disclosed possibilities of their attaining a higher position. The question is not simple. One of the many factors entering into it in some cases is that the prolonged thinking of themselves as confined to certain conditions (whether the ideas were inculcated by a higher caste or evolved among themselves from their very position) has left the conviction that they are incapable of utilizing other conditions.

It is *the middle class movement of India* where both the ferment permeates larger groups and along with the restlessness there is awareness of definite wishes for higher status. Even regardless of what religion it comes from, they are going to have it.

> "A great opportunity occurred some years ago in a certain district in South India where a large section of the middle class, disgusted with Brahmin exclusiveness, definitely sought for a new way of religion. The Church, however, was not ready to help. There was no spirit of evangelism, and all were more concerned with making a decent livelihood than in giving Christ to others; so the opportunity was lost and this great class found shelter in a kind of neo-Hinduism from which they tried with more or less success to exclude Brahminism."[112]

> "Many members of these classes are seeking a relief from the ordinary Hinduism in some other religion. A large community on the West Coast has publicly announced its intention of leaving Hinduism unless Hinduism casts aside its social exclusiveness. In Malabar conversion to Mohammedanism or Christianity has been openly suggested by many. One correspondent in a Madras

> paper discussed the respective merits of the Brahmo Samaj and Christianity. A long letter published in the leading non-Brahmin paper of South India openly declares that only by accepting Christ as a personal Saviour can all these problems which confront the peoples of India today be solved. All through these middle-class communities there is keen desire to inquire with open-mindedness into the merits of Christianity. Leading middle-class men are invoking the aid of missions to help them in solving their educational problem and are offering to subsidize mission schools for this purpose. Says one of my middle-class correspondents, 'a religion full of myths, miracles and mummeries with unmeaning rites and ceremonies cannot supply the place of a living faith. Our future religion must go hand in hand with science and pure morality.' "[113]

Where Hinduism will give them status, these middle-classes will stay with her; where Islam, they seem ready to go over to her; where Christianity, to her.

Incentive toward Status Rooted in Dependence upon the Group.—A fundamental characteristic implied in the desire for group status as it appears in these class movements, seems to be the reluctance of any large number of individuals, taken singly or in sub-groups, to separate themselves from their group in order to gain increased recognition. They want greater recognition than their group is now giving them; yet they are so dependent upon their group (for intra-group recognition, intimate sociability, etc.) that they cannot dispense with it, and breaking away from it is out of the question; they, therefore, have to lift their whole group in order to get it. (When it comes, it comes in the form of outside recognition of the group and outside recognition of themselves as representatives of the group; it also comes as intra-group recognition of them as leaders of this new movement.) If this analysis is correct, it shows that group status may operate through a general awareness on the part of all the members of the group or it may operate through one individual only. Psychologically it is the group awareness, group self-esteem, and group distinction among other groups that is operating in both cases. It was partly this sense of group solidarity that made the merchant father agree to let his son go to the Christian school

at Tainan so that he might be sure that the ancestral group of which he was a part would be carried on.

It is *within these limits* imposed by group status that *many non-Christians* in Japan, China, India and other parts of the non-Christian world *have at sometime eagerly prized Western civilization and have desired its religion:* they have wanted them as a means to national self-esteem and advancement which would augment the recognition coming to them.

> Neesima was a youth off at Hakodate trying to learn more English, etc.
>
> "Being far away from home, I became more careful in my observations; what struck me most was the corrupt condition of the people. I thought then, a mere material progress will prove itself useless so long as their morals are in such a deplorable state. Japan needs a moral reformation more than mere material progress, and my purpose was more strengthened to visit a foreign land . . .and so far as I am convinced the reformation must be brought through Christianity."[114]

> Dr. Imbrie and President Ibuka write: " 'Some years ago there was a feeling more or less marked that Christianity had proved itself to be a power for good in moulding the civilization of the West: and that it might be expected to work similar results in Japan. Thus Christianity appealed to many, in this general way, on national grounds. Accordingly, it was accepted by many; by some superficially and by some in reality. This motive is still operative, but it is by no means so much in evidence as it once was.' "[115]*

*In 1884, Mr. Fukuzawa Yukichi, an "eminent scholar" of Japan who had previously hailed Christianity as dangerous to the national welfare, wrote an essay entitled "The Adoption of the Foreign Religion Necessary."

"It is undeniable fact," he said, "that the civilized countries of Europe and America excel all other lands not only in *political institutions*, but also in *religion*, in *customs*, and *manners* . . . .these features . . .*constitute a certain social distinctive colour* world-wide in its character. Any nation therefore which lacks this distinctive *badge of Western civilization* stands in the position of an opponent, and is not only unable to cope with the superiority of enlightened Americans and Europeans, but is directly or indirectly exposed to their derision. Hence one of the disadvantages under which inferior nations labor when they present a different color from that of the Western nations. . . .

"The civilized nations of Europe and America have always held that non-Christian countries could not be treated as enlightened nations. *Such being the case, if we desire to maintain our intercourse with Western nations on the basis of international law, it is first of all absolutely necessary that we remove completely the stigma from our land of being an anti-Christian country, and obtain the recognition of fellowship by the adoption of their social color.*

. . . . . .

". . . .The booksellers of China refused to handle, on any account, any Christian books for sale, considering it a transaction disloyal to their country and unworthy of honorable men. But in 1895, after the appearance of Mackenzie's *History of the Nineteenth Century* and other books of the S.D.K. a great change came over the Chinese bookseller. In one city alone—Hangchow—there were no less than six pirated editions of the *Nineteenth Century*. . . .Altogether there must have been a million pirated copies in circulation throughout China. . . ."[116]

"The late N.K.Tilak was a Brahman who had started out to reform Hinduism and had come into contact with Christianity. He was amazed to find that the best things he had desired for India were promised in Christianity and that Christ was 'far superior to the Ideal man I had imagined, and His faith was far superior to that I had invented. So I followed Him, and for the sake of helping my country, I presented myself for baptism. I wished to start work among my countrymen as soon as I was baptised. Whether it was serving Christ or serving my country I could not say. . . .' "[117]

"*As an absolutely necessary preliminary, however, the Christian religion must be introduced from Europe and America.* . . .

". . . .From the standpoint of a private individual, we may say that we take little or no interest in the subject of religion, as it does not affect our personal feelings or sentiments."

In order to have Japan put on an equal footing with the Western nations, Mr. Fukuzawa said in a later article, "*We must change our professed belief and wear a religious dress uniform with others.* We mean by professed belief, *what we profess to believe apart from what may be our true doctrine.* It would be sufficient to make it publicly known that Japan is a Christian country. . . .We do not mean that the majority of our countrymen should be Christians. *A small number, one for every hundred, will be sufficient,* . . . The steps necessary for the Christianization of the country are to register the creed of Japanese Christians, permit the conduct of funeral ceremonies by the missionaries, and gradually introduce baptism among the upper and middle classes. We cannot attach too much importance to Japan's entrance into the comity of Christian nations." [This was previous to the Sino-Japanese and the Russo-Japanese wars!]

Cary, the historian of missions in Japan, adds that Fukuzawa "was followed by others that spoke and wrote in favor of the same policy. . . ."

[That very summer the Government relinquished its official responsibility for the conduct of Shintoism and Buddhism, and gave the people permission to bury their dead with whatever forms they chose. Furthermore, after certain provocations, the Governor of the prefecture about Kyoto called together the heads of different non-Christian sects and urged them to influence their priests to prevent attacks on Christians for the sake of the country; his reason was that the Japanese Government was endeavoring to get its foreign treaties revised.] [*Italics ours.*]

(Cary, (A), II, 172-174, 177, 178-179. On the official adoption of Western style of dress and the introduction of balls and other modes of Western entertainment, in order to overcome discrimination against Japanese as Orientals, compare p. 183. On the wholesale pursuit of English and Western learning, cf. 185 ff.)

The desire for increased group status does not operate in the Japan of today as it did in the sixties and seventies of the last century; with deliberate intent every school child is taught reverence for the Imperial Family of Japan and the superiority of its people. Probably it does not operate in the China of today, except in the case of the poorer groups; for there the foreigner has prestige simply as a foreigner only in certain classes of people. In India the higher castes have lost every vestige of complete admiration for the West, if they ever had it; they, too, ascribe prestige only to certain products or techniques of the Western civilizations. Nevertheless, on the other hand, *the value and prestige of certain aspects of Western civilizations affords ample grounds for the operation of status.* The determination to secure certain of these prerequisites of higher status, in fact, underlies the reform movements sweeping the upper classes in all parts of the Orient. As we have seen, even Islam is charged (by Christians, and Moslems in turn charge Christianity and the West with the same) with that sense of group inferiority which is at the root of the attempts to attain a higher group status or of the claims to it.

> ". . . .There is a definite trend, partly conscious, largely unconscious, to adapt itself to the modern age. The reason is the conviction which has sunk into the minds of many that they are behindhand, retrograde, non-progressive. This consciousness of inferiority has aroused a desire for improvement, a spirit of emulation. It is accompanied at times with a feeling of inability to proceed without guidance from those who are known to be in a superior status, in spite of a prejudice which wishes to deny such superiority."[118]

Rise of the Demand for Increased Status.—It is hardly within the purview of this outline to speculate on different degrees of "inferiority-complexes" within that desire for higher group status which underlies these group movements. That desire, at least, is beyond dispute. It allows the innovators their opportunity. We must leave further inference for the more complete study of any given situation. For the time being, however, two or three clues may be worth attention showing

how the demand for increased status is increased by outward stimuli. We assume beforehand that there is a possibility of increasing almost anyone's desire for self-feeling and recognition. In the first place, then, certain groups have been made conscious of the possibility of larger recognition because certain of their members have been actually accorded it, some abandoning their previous group and some maintaining membership in both. Non-Hindus have been taken into Hinduism, and non-Hindus and low-caste Hindus into Mohammedanism and into Christianity. Second, individual leaders imbued with the idea of the possibility of group advance have taught and preached it far and wide.

> "The following is from a speech by a man of high social position among the non-Brahmins to a mass meeting of Panchamas.
>
> " 'You must assert your position and claim equality with any other man in the country. If you as a community will raise yourself and try your best to improve your position, and shake off this habit of social inferiority and think you are equal to the highest caste in the land your position is assured.'
>
> "The president of the first non-Brahmin conference in South India used the following words, which have been applauded by all as an ideal of the movement.
>
> " 'The first duty we have to undertake is the prompt and effective removal of the disabilities imposed on the low castes, especially the depressed classes, in the name, in many cases, of religion. Our movement must be so shaped and our work so carried on that within a measurable distance of time all the existing social cleavages due to artificial causes will be swept away.' "[119]

Third, when either of these has brought a group to a definite consciousness that it is subjected, but that it can rise, its desire for recognition may become *ipso facto* greater than the satisfaction of it, resulting in restlessness and excess desire.

> "The wonderful changes which Christianity has brought to the lower classes have exercised a profound influence upon the middle classes and made them inquire what this power is which could work so great a change. A new attitude of inquiry and receptiveness had begun to manifest itself even before the political movement showed itself.

"Another influence which also began to make itself felt was the education which so many of them had received in mission schools."[120]

Group self-awareness and the various related urges may be understood best as factors in group status by noting how they arise and operate in the relations which individuals belonging to races or groups of lesser prestige have with the "higher races." In fact, in any analysis of the influence of status, it will be well worth while to bear in mind similar phenomena in the realm of races. *The Biography of an Ex-Colored Man* for example shows clearly how this consciousness of status is felt:

> The writer was not conscious of his color until the school teacher one day had the "colored children" rise. Going home he questioned his mother. "From that time I looked out through other eyes, my thoughts were colored, my words dictated, my actions limited by one dominating, all-pervading idea which constantly increased in force and weight until I finally realized it in a great tangible fact. . . .I did indeed pass into another world."
>
> Again he says: "I frequently saw or fancied some slight where, I am sure, none was intended. On the other hand, my friends and teachers were, if anything different, more considerate of me; but I can remember that it was against this very attitude in particular that my sensitiveness revolted. 'Red' was the only one who did not wound me; up to this day I recall with a swelling heart his clumsy efforts to make me understand that nothing could change his love for me."[121]

In conclusion, the same remarks might well be made of the status category as were appended to the discussion of the preceding one—"social intimacy." Aside from that, summary will wait upon the rest of the data upon approving reactions, in Chapter X.

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7. Page, 181.
8. *Ibid.*, 163-164.
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18. Griffis, 123-125.
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46. *W.M.C.*, IV, 32.
47. *Ibid.*, II, 104.
48. *Ibid.*, II, 156. On India, *ibid.*, II, 160.
49. Cf. Lee, 95.
50. Nelson, 13-14, and ff
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65. *Ibid.*, II, 141-142.
66. *Ibid.*, III, 283-284. Also 285, 77.
67. *Ibid.*, III, 176.
68. Benton, 34-36.
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70. *Ibid.*, III, 93-94.
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CHAPTER X

ANALYSIS OF FAVORABLE REACTIONS IN TERMS OF MOTIVATION—*concluded*

(Analysis of the More Permanent Responses of Approving Behavior: Suggestions for Immediate Interpretation from the Bio-Psychological Viewpoint—*concluded*)

8. THE INHERENT PROTECTIVE RESPONSES AND SECURITY.

Protective responses are normally made when there is molestation, attack, deprivation of interests, or uncertainty as to whether or not there may be either attack or maintenance of interests.*

Let us get the sequence of stimulus and response in mind. To begin with *a very simple case*. a Hottentot's body is the victim of an enemy's knife, of disease, of a falling stone. Against these he has protective technique—his weapons of war, his concoctions of medical herbs, and his magic. If he sees that they fail to shield him while his Christian neighbor seems to be safe with foreign rifle, foreign medicine, and foreign worship, he is more than likely to make overtures to foreigners, other things being equal, to secure his neighbor's technique. These overtures to the foreign missionary entail a whole new set of reactions and may include definite receptivity toward his religion.†

The widespread susceptibility of non-Christians to the missionary doctor, originates in some such observations as we have described. Non-Christians come to realize that native medicine and magic are ineffective as compared with the missionary's. Consequently, Western medical knowledge, applied by the missionary physicians, has become the most dependable means of starting that sequence of reactions on the part of non-Christians (seeking medical aid, having the satisfaction of substantial medical help, being stirred to personal gratitude, therefore be-

*See "Salient Bio-Psychological Urges" under Appendix II, section 2.

†Here, then, is behavior functioning with an in-reference of protection and an out-reference of approval-of-the-missionary.

coming susceptible to the missionary's attempt to ingratiate himself, etc.), which ultimately weaken prejudice and opposition against missions in every land. Thus we see that the protective responses, *the efforts to secure relief from pain*, temporarily set aside or overcome the usual inhibitions against the missionary, and thus allow various stimuli from him to take effect.

> In the sixties and seventies, the Japanese were relentless and even fierce in their opposition to Christianity. Yet Cary asserts that those who were healed through the earlier Christian medical work in Japan "were filled with gratitude to their benefactor, sometimes literally worshipping him or putting his photograph among the objects of devotion on the 'god-shelf.' "[1]

There are numerous records of how *the poor and the weak*, harassed by ruffians or oppressed by men in power, *flee to the foreigner for protection.*

> "A well known Roman Catholic Missionary in Chota Nagpur writes to me as follows regarding the inducements to conversion:— 'As a general rule religious motives are out of the question. They want protection against zamindari and police extortions and assistance in the endless litigation forced on them by zamindars. . . .As a consequence — (a) most of the converts came over (after panchayats) in whole villages or in groups of villages; (b) a certain number of isolated families came over, either for help against zamindars or police extortion, or against the rest of their co-villagers who persecuted them because they were pointed out by the *Sokhas* as wizards or witches. (c) Personally I know of some cases where individuals came over for religious motives. But these cases are rare.' "[2]

As long as this holds true in the mass movement regions, it is likely that it affects Arya and Protestant Christian as well as Roman Catholic membership. It is significant that one of the first motives accounting for willingness to join the missionary church noted by the Edinburgh Report is legal protection.

> "First, those desiring interference on the part of the missionary in things that are wholly beyond his province, and in these he will refuse from the first to meddle. Under this head come family disputes and law cases, with all the forms of political interference. This duty is so carefully observed in China by

most Missions that candidates are not received, even to the catechumenate, while they have any connection with a lawsuit."[3]

In China, "The ruling of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in its Book of Discipline runs as follows:—

"'Members and enquirers must understand that position in the Christian Church does not alter the status of a Chinese subject. A man who, according to Chinese custom, has not the right of entry to a Yamen or the power to send his card to the Yamen in ordinary cases gains no such right or power because he has become a member or enquirer.'"[4]

In one instance a physician, unpaid by one of the leading gentry of Nan-Chou, started regular attendance at the Gospel Hall and began to use this fact as leverage and threat with the gentry. The missionary "promptly turned him out."[5]

The causes of worry, trouble, and losses are said to be so numerous in some countries that organized bodies and group aid seem the only effective technique for handling them. To many the Christian church seems to be regarded as such a social group or club, where they think they will have general protection and guidance in trouble.

In a more or less colored statement in the Edinburgh Report we read:

"The Chinese have a genius for combination, and love to form guilds, societies, and associations, many of them for perfectly lawful purposes, while the reputation of others is more doubtful. The theory of the law is that many of these societies are forbidden, or openly suppressed, and the Christian Church being the only important combination of men which enjoys as a rule the tolerance of the Government, it seems to many to offer a home and a shelter for those who are wronged, or are in danger of collision with the law."[6]

It continues: "When the Church begins work in a new district it most frequently encounters groups or classes of persons whose interests predispose them either to welcome it as an ally, or to resist it as a foe. With the best of intentions on the part of the missionary, it is difficult to keep the Church wholly disentangled from these complications. If any enquirer suffers, in his own judgment, wrong, or injustice, he is tempted to represent this as an act of persecution, and to seek the protection which he supposes the Church is able to afford. In many cases also schemers of bad character, seeing the Church growing into a

socially influential body, have tried to utilise it for their own ends, not only in self-defence, but sometimes for the purposes of wrong and oppression."[7]

With the spirit world primitive man maintains a continuous truce also. Utterly dependent on satisfactory relations with this phase of life for his sense of safety, he is likely to relate up with his ideas of magico-religious forces any danger or uncertainty that awakens basic fear reactions. Misfortune which he has been taught is due to some spirit power, will enhance his fear and esteem of that power and may make him seek its aid. This being so, some peoples have no objection to *trying* any *new magico-religious practices for the protection they promise*, providing they do not controvert their previous ones too ominously.

[From China:] "Almost every house has its door charm to protect it from the aggressive demon . . .always there is a fantastic character written on red paper and pasted on the door, to keep away the demons . . .even that more enlightened part of the Roman Catholic Church which is manned by Frenchmen has provided similar red paper Catholic charms for the doors of its people. The rooms have their charms, the bed has its charm, hosts of the people carry charms on their persons, and very few children are without them, either in the shape of an earring, a silver collar round the neck, or a silver deity in the cap.

". . . .One village, a few years ago, after hearing a native Bible Colporteur extol his wares, almost cleared out his stock and hung the Word of Life on its beds, in its rooms, and even on its babies, as a charm against the foes it so dreaded."[8]

Any apparently superior or uncomprehended power, which prestiged parties claim has emanated from the unseen world, may humble him before it.

Mrs. Parker, the biographer of *Sadhu Sungar Singh*, relates a number of tales which show this clearly, regardless of possible accretions in them: The Sadhu met two men, one of whom feigned that he was dying so that his companion could beg money for burying him; trying it before the Sadhu, one of them actually died; the other, therefore, became a Christian. Of several reapers cursing and swearing at the Christian preacher, one threw a stone at him and was immediately seized with a severe headache; Singh

took his place in the field and the day's harvest turned out larger than usual; whereupon, in fear the men became eager to hear the preaching of this holy man. The biographer also tells of some Pathans in the far north of India whose plot to take the Christian mendicant's life compelled him to sleep in a very cold and filthy place; astonished, the next morning, that he was not frozen, they took him as "one favored of Allah" and kept him for several days. Various other tales of the Sadhu's good fortune disclose this same tendency in other parts of India.[9]*

Half of a tribe had gone to Lenakel, the mission station, and half remained. The inland tribes, furious at this advance in the Worship, drove the remaining half from their homes into caves.

". . . .About sixty clothed people crowded around us, and eagerly listened to the Gospel message. They were living in caves, and many of them were ill with dysentery, but their one cry was:

" 'Send us the Gospel, or we perish.' They regarded the plague as a judgement upon them for their evil conduct. . . .

. . . . . .

". . . .They sent a messenger after us to say:

" 'If you do not send us a teacher we will seize the next one that visits us in the boat and detain him by force.' "[10]

The safety, security, and certainty he feels in finally allying himself with the so-called Chief-of-Spirits is certainly a readaptation to his otherworldly magico-religious environment. It is the procuring of an additional or substitute protective technique.

A male convert from a non-Christian home writes: "First of all it was this that drew me to Christianity, that this religion is true and that it is from God."[11]

"The gospel of redemption by Christ makes a strong appeal, especially in its aspect of deliverance from evil powers. To these spirit-ridden folk, it is not to be wondered that His power over demons should be a welcome tale. 'The prospect of becoming free from the fear and service of spirits' is, according to Herr Sundermann, 'the greatest attractive force' in Christianity. 'That Christ is mightier than the devil; the demons had to obey His commands; that He is the deliverer from evil powers; that

*Similarly, misfortune which follows an American Indian's slander and persecution of a mission, is interpreted as punishment from the missionary's god: it thus provokes change of behavior and even conversion. Wellcome, 13d-14d.

He is a helper in time of need,' is the truth of Christianity that possesses the greatest power of appeal (Hahn). 'A deep impression,' says Warneck, 'is made by the message of redemption, understood beforehand literally as deliverance from the tyranny of evil spirits, and from the paralysing fear. . . .' "[12]

". . . .Wherever the missionary points out Jesus Christ as powerful to deliver from such tyranny, he will be understood. The redemption from sin and guilt is not a prominent experience at the beginning of a former Animist's Christian life. . . . .'Deliverance from demons appeals soonest, perhaps, of all things in the Christian life' (Dodd). The contributions from Africa do not lay the same emphasis on the attractiveness of this aspect of the Christian salvation, though doubtless it is implied in what is said of the terrors of the animistic view of the world, and the joy experienced in trusting to the power and love of God."[13]

The atonement is the outstanding work of protective magic to these superstitious natives.

If his imaginary world extends to a life after death, or can be made to do so, protection there also may become a powerful consideration. How powerful depends, as usual, on the cultivation and psychological setting of these concepts, and these in turn on the individual's own mores, training, age, etc.

" 'Another source of dissatisfaction,' writes Beattie of Amoy, China, 'is the want of definite, clear teaching regarding the future life. Confucius denies knowledge of the future, and Buddhism and Taoism give no clear guidance. The spirit-world of the Chinese is a dim, dark Hades wherein the souls of the dead largely depend on the dutifulness of the living. Many become Christians in the hope of winning the life eternal.' "[14]

"Obi Iji'oma, one of the chief men, in the course of a religious conversation was asked if he had a soul. 'Yes,' was his reply. 'But how is that soul to be saved?' 'I do not know,' was the sad answer. Then the way of salvation was pointed out to this poor dark mind. With a bright light in his eyes he exclaimed, ... 'Jesus, Son of God, show me the good way?' "[15]

". . . .The earliest record of fear of consequences of sin contained in these [Annett's] replies is that of a Brahman who says, 'From the age of four I was burdened with sin, started by the

> reply of my mother to a question of mine, "What is Hell like?"—place of fire, worms bite and scorpions sting. This remained with me all through youth, sometimes dying down, then flaring up again.'" [He became a Christian.][16]

We here see the missionary's innovations regarded as a more adequate protective technique against bodily harm, social annoyance, and magico-religious uncertainties—that is, against attack and harm or uncertainty as to possible attack. These are sample fields only, but sufficient to show an important urge underneath approval of Christian missions.

It may be felt that the implications of one type of stimulus that evokes protective responses—viz., *deprivation of satisfiers*—have not been given adequate attention—unless we interpret all the foregoing cases as due to deprivation of normal organic, psychological, or sociological satisfiers. As we very well know, any interference with the *status quo* brings protective responses on the part of those (especially vested interests) whose needs are being satisfactorily met by the *status quo*. Why? Because, in part, these satisfactions are interrupted. Yet if those satisfiers are immune from assault they, or, the aspect of them which makes them immune, are to that extent protective. For instance, the self-esteem of a Moslem or Hindu usually cannot be greatly lowered by Christian propaganda; from the point of view of the missionary's attempt to make him feel sinful, humble, inferior, it therefore functions protectively. The self-esteem of the Japanese Buddhist Neesima, on the contrary, was materially lowered by contact with Christianity and the West; and to him Christianity alone restored self-esteem and rendered him immune to further attacks upon it from the religious realm. Similarly the Moslem's and the Hindu's magico-religious theories of the universe, are usually immune from deprivation, while the Animist's are not. The point is, any urge satisfier may be regarded as protective in certain of its aspects.

On the other hand, technique devised primarily for protective purposes, such as the epithets "traitor," "heretic," etc., we found to have the retroactive effect of reasserting one's self-

distinction. Thus *satisfiers may be protective, and protective technique may satisfy other urges.*

The easiest way to keep out of a dilemma here is to *maintain the functional point of view* in considering possessions, activities, sentiments, or ideas. *In each specific situation* the different bio-psychological functions of any given cultural feature, so far as they are discernible, must be kept clearly in mind. With that remark we are proceeding to specialized aspects of self-protection and its technique.

9. PROTECTIVE RESPONSES AND CONDUCT: ADJUSTMENT OF CONDUCT TO NORMS

Typical Data: Dissatisfaction from Conflict; Adjustment; Christian Terminology.—Occurrences endangering some aspect of the needs-securing-satisfaction processes, as we indicate in our theoretical discussions of protection,* are likely to provoke responses of fear, anger, or protective gestures and ideation; and these responses constitute steps toward a bio-psychological adjustment to restore a satisfactory condition of affairs. Now, strange as it may sound, "misbehavior" (conduct diverging from accepted norms of behavior) is often an occurrence of that sort.

> An Indian Christian brought up in a Christian home says of his pre-conversion days, . . . "When I was going wrong I had no peace in my heart. There used to be a kind of fear always!. . . ."[17]

Here, clearly, misbehavior brought dissatisfaction. Compliance with certain standards of conduct seemed necessary to allay it. Such compliance apparently functioned as an essential factor in self-esteem, in social standing in the community, or in a sense of safety-before-unknown-magico-religious-sources-of-punishment (it is not clear which). And when the norms were not

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*Let us see this process broadly enough to realize that in time psychology will put under this category, phenomena which do not seem to many of us now to belong there. Maintaining a sequence of anti-social action already begun, may be sheer protection to a criminal's self-respect, or, self-regard. And it is conceivable that a youth repressed and constantly disapproved in his home in Tokio or Calcutta, might join a Y.M.C.A. Boy Scout troop, just to "get even" with his parents. See chap. vii and Appendix II, section 2.

complied with in concrete behavior,—the need for self-regard, or for certainty-as-to-future-harm, being unsatisfied—a restlessness ensued, while the individual responded protectively with fear at this deprivation (and doubtless with ideational and other activities not recorded). Ultimately, in this particular case, conversion to Christianity restored the previous connection between these needs and his patterns of conduct: it helped him to so conform to his code, or a changed code, that he secured greater "peace." (Thereafter apparently, from the testimony, the bio-psychological processes of self-regard, etc., being associated with attainable norms, reinforced what is known as his "moral integrity.")

In the following case, also, a professed non-Christian norm is at the centre of self-esteem: divergence from it in conduct brings a conflict, with consequent restlessness; it also brings a lowered self-regard and apprehension of other-worldly punishment, which demand remedial attention.

> "G. C. Dass, . . .Krishna-worshipper, . . .adds his testimony. 'I began to think more of the cloud of sin that hid my Father's face from me. . . .I became restless and filled with sorrow for disobeying such a good, kind and loving Father, and I determined to obey Him and perform good works that would outweigh all the evil I had done. I tried my utmost, but utterly failed to keep God in my mind even for a few minutes, my thoughts went astray so easily. . . .My sense of sin deepened. . . .I felt that sin was not a small matter as it aimed directly against the authority of God and so justice demanded my punishment. . . .Brahmos said Repentance is an adequate punishment for sin, but I felt this inadequate. I felt God could not receive me without atonement. God's holiness could not dwell with my darkness and unholiness.' "[18]

A ripe situation, this is, for the propagandist who can present the Christian gospel and ceremonial technique as a means of attaining conformity to the norm and therefore a means of re-establishing self-regard and a sense of other-worldly safety. And the Christian doctrine of atonement filled the gap in his ideational scheme in such a way that he, too, achieved "peace."

These two cases are representative of a great many individuals who come under the influence of Christianity: There is a conflict between two habits of behavior or favored lines of conduct. One of them is definitely sanctioned by a norm that is psychologically linked to ideas and feelings of self-esteem, and maybe of security-against-other-worldly-dangers, or expressiveness. The restlessness produced by the conflict between the different lines of behavior, one of which is espoused by ideas of self-esteem and protection (if not of expressiveness and will-to-power also)—this restlessness and the unsatisfied urges are called by Christians "the (acknowledged) need for moral or spiritual power," or its equivalent, and are asserted to be the fundamental bases of certain approaching and seeking responses toward Christian propaganda. The protective responses of fear, anger, and various sorts of defense are likely to be called "fighting against God," except insofar as they are mere fear and inferiority reactions. When the norm in question is a Christian one (it may or may not be non-Christian at the same time, of course) and when the missionary's technique is brought into the situation so as to resolve the conflict in favor of the norm's type of behavior—then, Christianity may be called "moral energy," "moral dynamic," "the power of Christ," "moral victory through Christ," etc.* Here is a fairly typical instance where aid in a conflict situation, is given as an incentive to approving responses toward Christian propaganda:

> ". . . .It is notable also that the Chinese never appeal to their gods and Buddhas for *moral and spiritual help.* Christ, therefore, as a *living power* in the hearts of men and as a *source of moral energy* in their lives, comes as a new thought to the Chinese, and the call of Jesus —'Come unto Me all ye that labour and are heavy laden'—has a strong appeal in it. The Christian doctrine of the indwelling Christ and the power of His spirit to lift men out

*It is scarcely necessary to mention that in the missionary's technique there are special occasions when the bearings of a given norm or course of action upon one's life or destiny (including other-worldly destiny) is vividly considered, when, therefore, the links with one's urges are consciously made or reinforced. These may be religious revival services or times of private Bible study, meditation, prayer and imaginative association with Jesus or the God Spirit.

> out of their sins and to make them new creatures, possesses the charm of novelty and the inspiration of hope. Bishop Graves says: 'It is the power of Christianity to enable men to lead a new and higher life which appeals to the Chinese. That, so far as I can judge, is the side on which it touches them. Once within the Christian Church, the great doctrines of God, of His love as shown in the Incarnation and Atonement, of the new life in Christ, of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit are apprehended by them as they are by all Christians and become the motive forces of their lives; but in the first instance it is generally the *power of Christianity over the moral life*, the point where their own religions conspicuously fail, which leads them to Christ.'"[19] [*Italics ours.*]

The attraction is supposed to come through observation of this "power" as seen in the results it achieves in others' lives.

> "'When Christianity is manifested in a life as moral and spiritual dynamic,' writes the Rev. J. Beattie of Amoy, 'lifting men out of the meshes of evil habits, the Chinese are apt to be astonished and to seek the cause in medicine or magic. A woman once came to a mission doctor asking for some of the medicine which had cured her neighbour's vile temper and evil tongue. Others say that the cause lies in the baptismal water or in the sacramental bread and wine.'"[20]

"Interest in Adjustment of Conduct to Norms": Summary of Factors in the Situation.—For consideration when detailed psychological data is gathered on such experiences, we therefore offer the following summary suggestions as to their analysis. They are brief and not intended to anticipate the analysis in the succeeding chapters. They will refer to divergence of conduct from Christian norms of behavior, in order to make the problem simple and definite, but thereafter the principles may be applied to any group where similar phenomena are found.

In the first place, the most observable phenomena in *the readjustment finally established* are said to be a definite altering or repressing of certain "un-Christian" habits of behavior such as angered and violent conduct, and along with this a conformity of the subject's conduct and attitudes to certain Christian norms of temperateness, good-will, piety or what not.

(It is also obvious that the pattern norms of these latter types of conduct are supposedly in the mores of the Christian group comprising converts, preacher, and missionary; and behavior consistent with them is presumably required, therefore—at least, it is *strongly approved*. Such behavior may also be thought of by any given subject as approved-by-an-invisible-idealized-Observer just as real and far more consequential than the Christian group—as is granted in psychological analyses of prayer. Furthermore, it is agreed that so far as the subject's conduct has differed from the patterns, the subject has been in discomfort, worried or harassed by his "conscience," "convicted of sin," in some proportion to the vividness of his perception of the pattern and to his dependence on the approvers of the pattern, real or imagined, for approval of his conduct.)

In individuals from a primitive group *the conflict* is likely to be *simple*, though possibly severe, because there is just one previous pattern and at the same time a habit of utter dependence on group approval for one's self-estimation. The African who simultaneously abandons his magic and accepts "the worship," is a familiar example. In the philosophic type the previous patterns on one's horizon, cover a far wider range; and instead of merely accepting the demands of either of two groups, his habitual way of choosing is a far more *complicated* intellectual process of accepting, criticising, and explaining.*

If, in the individual psyche, the self-regarding systems are closely organized with the opinions of any group (the simple conflict type) the resolution of the conflict between norms and conduct may be *merely submission* to the group—should the group be Christian, it will call such compliance *moral conduct* while non-Christians may call it immoral, and vice versa. If the self-

*In either type the way in which the conflict is resolved, depends on (1) the simplicity or elaborateness of the conflict and of the reflective process, (2) the habitual grip of each alternative upon the individual, (3) the direction and persistence of his attention and imagination, (4) the ability to bring a self-regarding craving and other urges to bear, either by themselves by virtue of their being organized by attention and reflective suggestion with the thought of executing the norm, or aided by definite decision.

regarding systems are organized with elaborate habits of appraisal, criticism, idealization, etc. (the complicated conflict type), the resolution of the conflict must be approximately the *philosopher's own choice* of behavior or belief—regardless of its morality in the eyes of the group.[21]

With this moral or group aspect implied, "*an interest in the adjustment of conduct to norms*" may be said to operate *when, first, certain norms of conduct and attitude are so organized into psychological systems with his idea either of himself or of approval by others, that an observable difference between his actual conduct and his norms, produces a conflict; and when, second, there is a persistent holding of imagination or attention upon the adapting of his conduct to the norm.*

The youth who goes to school in Tokio,[22] Shanghai, or Calcutta with his community's norm of marital relationship, and while there is constrained to take up with prostitutes, offers a good *illustration.* That youth has an interest in moral conduct, roughly speaking, if there is an observable conflict in his impulses and if he exerts his attention or reflective imagination to help him suit his action to the sex norms of his group. If, however, such a youth finds that his behavior habits are not so organized with his self-feeling and other urge-systems that his usual involuntary and voluntary efforts can resolve the conflict to suit his accepted norm, he may come to the Y.M.C.A. worker or other missionary in pursuit of religious help—psychologically he is seeking a technique of attention, norms, self-esteem, etc.—that will enable him to thus resolve it.

> As a convert from Islam says of this period in his experience: "I was at the time the Egyptian evangelist spoke to me feeling terribly that I could not live up to the requirements of Islam."[23]

In that case *a definite aspect of his self-esteem is an interest in consciously adjusting his behavior to his norms.* In that case *this interest brings him to the propagandist* with a response partially approving, partially selective. It seems quite obvious that if

an individual thinks that with the means at hand he cannot conform to the norm organized into his idea of self-esteem, safety, etc., he is likely to take an approving, receptive, seeking attitude toward other well-recommended means of helping him to conform. Some of the available means may be tabued. If there is no effective ban on the missionary and his technique, these will doubtless be scrutinized for their possible use in meeting the need. Sometimes the acuteness of the need, as in the case of the Moslem, allows one to inhibit the taboo.

Missionary Creates Conflict in the Hope of Securing His Own Type of Readjustment.—We have thus far assumed that the norm, whether non-Christian or Christian, was securely attached to the individual's self-regard or other urges. On that basis we have dealt only with the attempt to adjust his own behavior to his own norms. (The reason we offer clues to the analysis of this particular aspect of conduct, is that it is spoken of so frequently in missionary literature, not that its actual prevalence or significance has been ascertained. As a matter of fact it is acknowledged that the problem is a problem in missionaries' minds far more than it is in the minds of the subjects themselves. The very lack of qualms of conscience and "Christian" conviction of sin on the part of converts-in-the-making, both of which assume norms of some definiteness, is one of the chief reasons for concern on the part of missionaries.) And the evidence makes it very doubtful whether, of their own accord, any considerable proportion of the approvers take what we have spoken of as a protective interest in the adjustment of their conduct to their norms—i.e., whether their psychological integrity is much disturbed.*

One of the most interesting aspects of missionary technique, is the use of devices for creating conflict, dissatisfaction, and interest in readjustment of conduct, by inducing a sense of short-coming and sin. Take for instance his explicit defining of

*This topic will come up a little later in considering the nature of the transition process preliminary to conversion.

norms, tacitly or openly avowed, in juxtaposition to the non-Christians' actual conduct: He sets forth the more difficult and "the most Christian" of the norms in their own indigenous mores with elaborateness. He contrasts his hearers' lives with these requirements, showing how wide they are apart. By indirect suggestion, he links their self-regard to compliance with the norms. He discusses such compliance, following the popular ideal, as "moral integrity." Surreptitiously at times, he expands the import of the original accepted norm with some idealization. He points to Jesus Christ as the embodiment of it. In short, he aims to define both accepted norm and usual conduct for the individual in such a way that an interest is developed in the adjustment of conduct to norms. This is his "moral teaching" and, among the educated hearers, is the preliminary step to offering Jesus Christ in a mystical way as a technique for adjusting their conduct to their norms.

> "The Bishop of Madras (who worked for many years in Calcutta) writes: 'Among individual Bengali students in Calcutta the most common form of dissatisfaction with their own faith consisted in its failure to help them in moral struggles. It was very rare to come across any deep-seated dissatisfaction on purely intellectual or doctrinal grounds. In almost every case that I can remember the ground of dissatisfaction was purely moral. A young student had his conscience stirred by the moral teaching given to him, and began to try to lead a higher life, especially to fight against the sin of impurity which was so sadly common amongst the university students. When he found that his own faith gave him no help, he was naturally led on to search after some higher moral power.' "[24]

His Indirect Magico-religious Substitutes for a Direct Satisfactory Adjustment.—Psychological integrity on the non-conscious or unobserved levels is taken care of by protective devices that only recently have become the object of study—compensations, means to wish-fulfilment, they are called by Adler and the psychoanalysts. Repression or restriction of urges in one direction, causes the human being to release his energy in other directions whether it is observable or not, we are told. Limitation

of the recognition one receives from his associates, may force his ego, his need for self-esteem in this case, to seek full satisfaction in the world of the imagination—in ambitions or phantasies flattering to it, in imagined attitudes of departed ancestors or other-worldly gods. From our point of view, as indicated in Appendix II, compensations are devised either as substitutes to make up for a paucity of immediate interests; or else, as means to protect the organism from attack, from deprivation of interests already acquired, or from uncertainty as to attack or maintenance of one's interests.

But for us to suggest, with our present meager supply of convert autobiography, precisely when and how the need for compensatory devices have induced non-Christians to seek Christianity, would be presumptuous. With one possible exception: if psychology proves that all use of magic and all imaginative interaction with idealized and other-worldly beings, are psychological compensation devices, at least one whole lot of data is partially placed. If it does so, practically all of Christianity and *all religion in general—in one aspect at least—would come under the head of compensation;* and much of this, under protective agencies of compensation. *For, when religion is vital and not merely an ethical system or a composite of ceremonial survivals, it is primarily behavior which refers to unknown or projected and idealised realms for the satisfaction of human needs, provision for which is regarded as either insufficient or uncertain.*

The behavior itself (which brings the protective and other sorts of compensating satisfactions), of course, consists in magico-religious ceremonies, beliefs, sentiments, and conduct, and organization for the maintenance of them. Adjustment in *conduct* was considered in the preceding section. Adjustment *of beliefs and norms* for protective purposes, comes under the next topic. The similar adoption *of ceremonials and rites* belongs here.

All that can be set forward here, however, is the hypothesis that much of ceremonial and rite, and of other overt and affective

behavior prized for its aleatory function—i.e., for good luck, for merit according to another world's reckoning, for appeasing spirit beings and gods or pleasing them—is protective compensation for divergence of ordinary conduct from the conduct norms which have been accepted, for "sin." Illustration of this would include all magico-religious behavior of overt or affective nature where expiation is sought or forgiveness is asked.*

10. PROTECTIVE RESPONSES AND NORMS AND BELIEFS: ADJUSTMENT, OR, RE-DEFINITION, OF NORMS AND BELIEFS

How the Problem Arises.—A difference between conduct and norms of behavior may result in an adjustment *of the norm to suit the conduct rather than an adjustment of conduct to suit the norm.* We have already referred to the missionary's tactics of enlarging the implications or character of non-Christian norms, before pointing to the suitableness of his hearers' adjusting their conduct to them. Now when a man sees that his actions differ from his "principles" he *may* renounce those principles and look about for others consistent with his behavior, or at least for principles which do not condemn the behavior that "seems sensible" to him. Even though unaware of it he may grow away from the old requirements.

> "[Male:]—'In the college we were obliged to read the Bible in the classes. But after having read the verse in our turn, we used to enjoy ourselves in pinching one another and doing such mischief as we could without drawing the attention of the Bible teacher. One day a Christian boy broke the sacred thread of a Hindu class-fellow during the Bible period. Now, according to the Hindu religion, one might only wear a new thread by bathing in the River Ganges, and by special service from the pundits which would render the new thread sacred. In the meantime until the new thread was obtained, the person was not only to fast but might not even swallow his saliva, and might not even cry out on pain of losing his religion. So the boy complained to the Bible teacher in dumb language and requested to leave: but the teacher,

*Detailed examination of this hypothesis must wait till I can go farther into the data on religious ceremonial, from which it was deduced.

> ignorant of Hinduism, wished to hear his complaint in speaking, and when he refused severely punished him. After a while the other students explained to the teacher, and the student was then allowed to leave the school room. This scene had a great effect upon me, and I thought it a weakness of the Hindu religion, and from that time I began to consort with Christians.' "[25]

There are many situations in which a man under urban, boarding school, or mission influence, or in any way out from under strict surveillance by his traditional group, *finds himself violating group custom.* He knows the group calls his actions "immoral." A strict Hindu Brahman crosses the ocean or helps the lame man of low caste, let us say, and thus breakes his caste rule. He is called immoral by his caste associates. Now the consciousness of his misbehavior and their disapproval of it, on the one hand, and of proper conduct and their undoubted approval of it, on the other, amounts to *a conflict in his own mind* that may be very intense. Shall he repudiate his actions, re-acknowledge the old norms, and restore their approval, his self-regard? Or shall he repudiate the caste's norm, and set up a new norm for himself envisaging his new habavior?

But suppose the Christian church group already speaks of this action as "moral," as "reformation," as "Christian"! It esteems him because what he has done conforms to the norms in their mores. Assuming that there were other questions of equal weight on both sides, the easiest way for him to settle his inner conflict, vindicate his own action, and secure recognition of an immediate group, all at the same time, would be for him to join the Christian church. He could thus *continue the behavior that conflicted with his former norm by accepting the new norm already adjusted to his behavior.*

The actual situation is seldom quite so simple. And besides, the second group does not always stand so ideally at hand as an escape from disapproval by the first group, and as a compensation to his threatened self-esteem. In spite of things that complicate, prolong, or facilitate the solution of these dilemmas, adjustments must be made wherever experience

widens; and those adjustments usually involve norms and beliefs. Some men may act contrary to espoused rules or abstract principles and not realize it unless the deduction is made for them by the group leaders, group opinion, or group tradition—almost all men are capable of a certain degree of psychic dualism, of keeping logic-tight compartments in their mental life, as Hart would say, of maintaining to a certain extent an incipient multiple personality. The particular behavior norm may not be attached to one's self-feeling, and there may be neither dualism nor conflict unless group disapproval is strong. In other men the habit of making mental associations, the habit of making rough comparisons, causes them to note the more glaring of inconsistencies; and if their self-feeling is attached to the norm in question, deviation from it would require some mental reservation, some modification of it.[26]

Its Group Setting: Non-Christian and Christian Groups Pitted Against Each Other.—We have already intimated in Chapter II and observed in detail in Chapter VII that a highly organized group will seldom allow its members to interpret for themselves these wider ranges of experience, for fear they will adjust the norms too radically and will stray too far in their actions. The group's integrity and prestige are at stake. All new behavior and beliefs that appear disruptive or uncertain are warded off by unfavorable classifications, by an explanation of the harm they will bring, by an apologetic which shows the superiority of the action or belief preferred by the group. Or, if it cannot be eradicated, it is delimited and formally approved within those limitations—as are the conventionalized nude in art and the conventionalized "sex interest" stories in the Old Testament. This *protective anticipatory adjustment* of the group's norms is usually provided by contemporary leaders or tradition; in the latter case, the apologetic, unfavorable classifications, or other protective technique, has the prestige of precedent. As we saw in discussing non-approving responses as protective technique (Chapter VII), group mores have in them either explicit or

implied definitions of heresy and immorality (taken in a broad sense), and these often include definitions of strange or novel conduct. "It isn't done," is the condemnation of novel conduct by rural groups as well as by high social circles. Primitive men have this prophylactic so effectively developed that they keep their own members from breaking over certain taboos by fear of disaster, yet explain away the lack of disaster to the Christian by asserting that the Christian violation of their taboos will not bring harm to him because he is protected by a different magic or God. A "rationalistic" Moslem sect observes that certain things in the Koran are not consistent with popular standards of conduct in the modern world, but, taking its cue from Christian interpretation of the Bible, asserts that the spirit and not the letter of the Koran or of Mohammed's life is their true norm, etc.

It is the tactics of an opposing group, a propagandic group, to choose an unprotected spot in this armor where explanations are not adequate, and *to show that new experience at that point can alone be satisfied by the norms of the new group* and by the entire milieu of supporting and related mores that the new group throws around those norms. It is Christian church tactics to claim that the non-Christian's old norms do not sufficiently cover the exigencies of personal, social, and scientific requirements in the modern world. A Chinese may be made to feel by the propagandist that the Confucian ethics have not developed principles which can be applied in explaining sorrow so as to give him the same comfort which Christianity provides; a Taoist, that his religion is not consonant with the facts of social and scientific phenomena; a Hindu, the same, or perhaps that Jesus is a more universal type than their hero gods and the interpretation of Christianity more hope inspiring than Hinduism.* As

*An exponent of Christianity thus outlines the hopelessness of Hinduism: The orthodox Hindu is now in the 5000th year of the 'evil cycle' of which there are 27,000 more years to run. Then there are to be three other cycles extending over 4,000,000 years before this evil cycle again returns, which is to happen many thousands of times. The possibility that after countless rebirths, extending over unnumbered millions of years, a man may at last escape from the miseries of human existence, furnishes no ground of hope that is worthy of the name. Robinson, (A), 6e.

we shall see later, the ultimate method is to exploit to the full (1) the almost universal folk belief in other-worldly bearings of deeds done in this life and at the same time (2) the almost universal facts of idealization and voluntary causation which make men confess they might have done "better."

> " 'I bought from a Christian colporteur,' writes B. B. Roy, 'a number of Christian tracts. When I read them I was filled with horror at the consciousness of a wicked and sinful life.' "[27]
>
> As a result of the teaching and experience gained in a mission school, Guru Charan Bose writes: "My faith in Hinduism was shaken; it failed to satisfy my spiritual cravings. I felt myself a great sinner; my sinful propensities were very powerful; they got the better of reason and conscience; I had no control over them. . . .I found that I had not the power of performing good works.. . . ."[28]

If conflicts can be induced at these points, and if the non-Christian can be made to regard the Christian beliefs as a possible solution for these conflicts, other things being equal he would tend to resolve the conflict by adopting at least those Christian norms that seem to provide for the new exigencies.

Where Desired Conduct, Attitudes, Ideals, and Intellectual Findings Recommend New Norms.—Altogether aside from the innovator's efforts, one may see places where his norms do not represent what he desires or what he thinks they should in view of his experience of life. Or, one may feel that the norms and doctrines of another culture, another religion, another system, correctly assert, let us say, that all men are brothers—lowest castes included—and that primary group reciprocity should hold for all of life (the Golden Rule), or that the continence youth has to practice is an ideal with a special reward, or that there is a philosophy reconciling good and evil, etc. If his own norms and beliefs do not do so, the tendency may be to accept these alien ones for certain values they bring—the reason, we shall discuss presently.

> Meredith Townsend, "premising that his belief is based on conversations with Brahmins of great acuteness, continued through a period of many years, but with Brahmins exclusively,"

declares: "No man not a Christian becomes a Christian to his own earthly hurt except for one of two reasons. Either he is intellectually convinced that Christianity is true—a conviction quite compatible with great distaste for the faith itself—or he is attracted by the person of Christ, feels, as the theologians put it, the love of Christ in him."[29]

"Books are mentioned as exercising the greatest religious influence prior to conversion by seventy-three of those under consideration [namely, Annett's 325 informants].

"Of those who mention the Bible. . . .The portion of Scripture most frequently specified by non-Christians, however, is the Sermon on the Mount! . . . .

"Among the . . .books. . . .Pike's *Early Piety*, Spurgeon's *Sermons*, Thomas A. Kempis, and *Steps to the Altar*, all given by young people from non-Christian homes." *Pilgrim's Progress* is a favorite.[30]

". . . .Two ministers of the Church of Christ in Japan were recently asked as to their first acceptance of Christianity; and their replies will serve to illustrate what has now been said. One of them replied, 'The first thing that attracted me to Christianity was the grandeur of the Christian conception of God—Infinite, Eternal, and yet Personal. That led me to think more and more of Christianity, and Christ was Master of my heart before I knew it.' The other replied, 'I was walking with a friend, and we were talking of the Restoration. Both of us belonged to the party of the Shogun. We felt then that a great injustice had been done and we were bitter over it. It seemed to us a mystery that such a thing could happen. Presently my friend said, "It was the will of God." That made a deep impression on me—the thought of a God controlling the history of nations—and it led me to consider more attentively the teaching that we were receiving regarding Christianity. My mind was especially attracted to the Sermon on the Mount, and in particular to the words, "But I say unto you, Love your enemies." That made a still deeper impression upon me; and so I went on.' "[31]

A conflict of norms themselves is quite frequently referred to in missionary literature. It usually betokens an "interest in adjustment and re-definition of norms and beliefs" due to age, temperament, training, experience. Begin with the adolescent in the effervescence and turmoil of life that we mentioned in relation to the expressive urge. So frequently he grasps at the

picture of adventurers, explorers, fighters, heroes, and compares them with the men he knows: he frames up ideals for his own conduct out of them, and deprecates the conduct and ideals about him.

> ". . . .Japanese students are naturally hero-worshippers, and, by an acquaintance with great men who were great Christians, many a Japanese student has been led to Christ."[32]
>
> Of Annett's Indian replies, on the other hand, only about fifteen per cent marked the personality, purity, or beauty of Christ as influencing them—though the status of the converts referred to doubtless differs from that of the Japanese students.

At best, the energetic youth, as remarked earlier, rasps or rebels under the restrictions, conventions, and arbitrary discipline imposed upon him. In a Uchimura this restlessness, energy, and originality grasp at the country of evident power and prosperity: he portrays its conditions and achievements to himself as ideal for his own country.

> ". . . .At sixteen years of age my desire was deepened to learn China and cast away sword exercise and other things. But my prince picked me up to write his daily book. . . .I read every night at home. A day my comrade lent me an atlas of the United States of North America, which was written with China letter by some American Minister. I read it many times and I was wondered so much as my brain would melted out from my head, picking out President, Building, Free School, Poor House, House of Correction, and machine working, etc. And I thought that a governor of our country must be as President of the United States. And I murmured myself that, O Governor of Japan! why you keep down us as a dog or a pig? . . . .If you govern us you must love us as your children. From that time I wished to learn American knowledge. . . ."
>
> "Some day I went to the seaside. . . .I saw largest man-of-war of Dutch lying there, and it seemed to me as a castle or a battery, and I thought too she would be too strong to fight with an enemy. While I look upon her one reflection came down upon my head: that we must open navy, because the country is surrounded with water. . . .But I made other reflection too: that since foreigners trade, price of everythings got high, the country got poorer than before, because the country men don't under-

stand to do trade with the foreigners. Therefore we must go to foreign countries, we must know to do trade, and we must learn foreign knowledge. But the governments law neglected all my thoughts, and I cried out myself: Why government? Why not let us be freely? Why let us be as a bird in a cage or a rat in a bag? Nay! we must cast away such a savage government, and we must pick out a president as the United States of America."[33]

"I was brought up in the faith of Buddhism, and was also instructed in the moral precepts of Confucius. Afterwards the former became offensive to me and the latter were unsatisfactory. Under these influences I became somewhat skeptical, notwithstanding at times I had some desire for something higher and better.

"In that state of mind I came across a Chinese translation of the Bible history by an American missionary in China. Its expressive view of God led me to inquire still further after Him. With this purpose I was to leave my home, and took passage for America. The Providence which ordered my way so far provided friends at Boston which have thus far supported me in my education. I date my conversion some time after my arrival in this country, but I was seeking God and his light from the hour I read his word."[34]

It is not the beliefs that have most of the assertive in them, however, which always arouse interest in redefining mores. In those approaching maturity or older, the college students class in India or Japan for example, the disclosures and hypotheses of Western science and of social and religious philosophy often clash diametrically with their religious beliefs and social customs—as is the case among Western college students.

"Evidential and philosophical teaching proved attractive mostly to non-Christian college students, as might be imagined. [Male, conversion age 18:] 'I commenced to read the Bible and the evidences which proved its genuineness and authenticity. I cultivated the acquaintance of educated Native converts and European missionaries. . . .For three years I continued my inquiries.' Ethical teaching, too, attracted that class, who contrasted it with the teaching of their sacred books. . . ."[35]

"It is rare to meet any young woman student who is a sincere believer in Buddhism, but a daily occurrence to meet one who

says, 'I believe in nothing.' . . . .Socialistic, atheistic, nationalistic, and agnostic ideas have poured into Japan through German, French, Russian, and English literature, and through students who have studied abroad. Japan has its admirers of such writers as Bernard Shaw, Maxim Gorky, Ibsen, Sudermann, and Maupassant. This change of attitude opens as never before the minds of the student and educated classes to the Christian worker who can lead the young Japanese, oppressed with the difficulties of life, into a vital faith. A missionary in Tokyo working exclusively for the student class has scores of students from non-Christian schools in voluntary Bible classes, and the number of young men corresponding with him on religious subjects is limited only by his ability to answer their letters."[36]

". . . .Bishop Foss writes: 'Japanese tell us that from fourteen to twenty-four their minds are simply fermenting with thoughts and hopes and doubts, which none of their old religions can satisfy, and which make them feel (for a time at least) that life without religion is not worth living.' And there are few teachers in Government schools who are able or anxious to assist their pupils in solving problems of supreme importance in the realm of ethics and religion." [37]

"Groping in the dark in his effort to readjust himself to a new world of thought" is the way in which the Y.M.C.A. workers describe the Korean and Chinese students in Tokio who there faced new problems of life and thought.[38]

A resolution of some sort seems demanded by the economy of man's psychological nature: the conflict brings the usual delay, suspense, emotion, and need of resolution in proportion to the persistence and intensity of the conflicting factors.

Those who reflect and whose idea or complex of the self is linked up with their norms and beliefs, are apt to have conflicts whenever they find divergent beliefs attractive, especially if they have the common idea that men should be able to reconcile the facts they observe, logically in accordance with certain posited absolutes such as justice and consistency.

"Then he said to me: 'Sir, I want to know just what you believe about Christ and the way of salvation. I am not at rest. I find nothing in the Koran to show me how God can be a just God and yet pardon a sinner. I know I am a sinner and that God is merciful, but he is also just.'

"There was a seriousness in his tone. . .I said: 'My dear friend, our only knowledge of Christ and the way of salvation is from the word of God, and here it is on the table—the Old and New Testaments.' . . .

"Then I opened the New Testament, and read to him: 'Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' 'Did Mohammed ever use such language as that?' I asked. He said, 'No.' I then said, 'Now when you read the gospel ask yourself, Who was Jesus Christ? and why does he speak as if he were God? He says he will give us rest from sin and trouble and sorrow. He says, "I and my Father are one." "I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me." '

"Then I read other passages—from Acts 4:12, 'Neither is there salvation in any other; for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved;' and from Rom. 5:1, 'Therefore, being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ.'

"Kamil listened intently to every word, and asked questions as if hungering and thirsting for the truth. Then he asked, 'How do you pray?' I told him we could engage in prayer, asking divine grace and help and the guidance of the Spirit. He knelt by my side and repeated every word after me. At the close he said 'I never heard this kind of a prayer before. It is talking with God. We repeat words five times a day, but we have no such prayers as yours.'

"I then laid on the table the Bible, the concordance, the Bible Handbook, and the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism with proof texts. I explained to him that this Catechism was in men's words, but was concise and would give him an idea of the system of Christian belief, but he need not accept a word of it unless he could find it supported by the Scriptures. I also asked him to ask divine aid and light whenever he read the Bible, and then I left him alone. On returning at noon, I found that he had prepared a series of questions about various passages of Scripture which he had been reading. These I explained to him.

"On the evening of the next day he called and remained two hours. He had committed to memory the first ten answers of the Catechism. With the fourth, fifth, and sixth he was delighted. The answer, 'God is a Spirit, infinite, eternal, and unchangeable in his being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth,' charmed him; and the sixth answer,—'There are three persons in the Godhead: the Father, the Son, and

> the Holy Ghost: and these three are one God, the same in substance, equal in power and glory,' he said set his mind at rest. 'We Mohammedans think that the Christians worship three Gods,' said he; but you do not. . . ." Then we read the Bible together for two hours and he listened with astonishment and delight. He seized upon the great doctrine of the atoning sacrifice of Christ with such eagerness and satisfaction that he seemed to be taught of the divine Spirit from the very outset. 'This,' he he said, 'is what we need. The Koran does not give us a way of salvation. It leaves us in doubt as to whether God will forgive our sins. It does not explain how he can do so and preserve his honor and justice. Here in the gospel it is plain. Christ bore our sins; he died in our stead; he died to save us from dying. This is beautiful; it is just what I want.' "[39]

To the extent that men have conflicts when they entertain contradictory or illogical beliefs, they may be said to have an interest in the redefinition of norm and belief, an interest in characterization, possibly, or an interest in intellectual integrity. This is an interest basis of philosophical and theological unrest, from the simple native whose thousand gods fall away before the one great Christian god,[40] to the sceptic who comes to the missionary with Hegel and Nietzsche. It is probably an interest basis of much of the appeal of Jesus' Life and of the ethical values in the Christian's Bible. It is an interest basis of many apparent preferences for Christian Western mores. A satisfactory adjustment is necessary, and if habit, new demands, and local pressure require the help of Christian definitions, they will be taken over bodily or used to attain definitions, for one's self or group.

The Demand for Readjusting Norms, Rooted in Bio-psychological Desire.—But this explanation hardly gets to the bottom of the matter in all cases where new norms become attractive. Furthermore, in differentiating between conflicts of norm and conduct and those of norm and norm, a false impression may easily be gained. In no sense is the former vital, as may be assumed too easily, and the latter merely theoretical. In both cases the factors in the conflict may be linked with the self. The attempt to adjust norms is likely to be equally protective in both cases, equally motivated by a sense of conflict, of uncertainty, of dis-

aster, of loss,—and these, in turn, equally clamant and unbearable. When people take the attitude, as Kamil did, that other things in life shift and change and pass away, but the fulfilling of certain obligations, the living in accordance with a certain system of rules or principles, is the one thing that stands out above all uncertainty as the thing worth while, or the thing that somehow will be conserved, or the thing that guarantees eternal survival to the individual—then that system represents the basis of protection and positive self-regard to them. It is a protective technique against the vicissitudes, uncertainties, disappointments, and losses of life; and it embodies the values that give worth and distinction to life. Moreover, if this or other behavior is referred to magico-religious or other-worldly forces, as it actually is with him and with certain other pre-converts, theological beliefs may be protective and self-regarding in a most vital way. This will come out in our study of the protective technique of the propagandist but it is attested to by the mental struggles of pre-convert doubters.

> An instance is given by Mr. Annett of a Chuni Lal of the Punjab. He went to a government school until his health prevented, gave up many religious beliefs of his childhood, but apparently retained a strong underlying attitude of incompleteness, and dependence. He joined the Brahma Somaj, later Christianity. His testimony is, "I found what I had sought and struggled for during four years, that peace which is real and lasting, that life which Christ alone can give."[41]
>
> Of the head of a small band of militia, convivial and enterprising, a biographer writes: "He had already sought peace in Buddhism and in Taoism, both leaving him in a state of unrest and suspense. It was in this condition that the gospel 'found him.' For a month, evening by evening, he sat at the feet of Mr. Burns, drinking in the strange, new story."[42]

The psychological explanation of these common religious experiences with norms and beliefs is not altogether evident, but their compensating protective and self-regarding function, at least, seems beyond cavil.

There are separate aspects of Christian norms which are protective in obvious ways. The relief felt when the Animist exchanges his host of evil and good spirits for one big evil spirit and One Beneficent Spirit which has a certain power over the evil one, affords shelter indeed. The Christian heaven may be balm for those wanting security, as we instanced earlier. The doctrine of the atonement is relief for those like Kamil whose lives, according to doctrines in their own mores, must suffer deprivations and penalties for their conduct. Where the sense of sinfulness is induced by Christianity, it acts the same way.

> Attracted to Christianity in a mission High School where he went so that he could get the English language, Chatterjee, with two fellow students, was impressed with passages like these:
>
> "He hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him."
>
> "Who His own self bare our sins to His own Body."
>
> "He gave His life a ransom for many."
>
> Later, Chatterjee wrote: "Passages like these convinced us that Christ's death and sufferings were vicarious—He died for our sins and in our stead— . . . .This doctrine became a stumbling block . . .and we hesitated to accept it, feeling satisfied to follow Christ as our Guru and Leader. It was not until we carefully considered the 5th Chapter of the Epistle of the Romans, especially the verses 12 and 18, that our hesitation was removed and we accepted Him in all His fullness as our Teacher and Saviour."
>
> Again he says:
>
> ". . . .the doctrine which decided me to embrace the Christian religion and make a public profession of my faith, was a doctrine of the vicarious death and sufferings of Christ. I felt myself a sinner and found in Christ one who had died for my sins—paid the penalty due to my sins. . . It is the differentiating line between Christianity and all other religions."[43]

Annett inquired what aspect of Christ's life and character had proved most attractive in winning his informants to Christianity. In presenting statistics showing that five-eighths of the replies referred to the "Love, Death, and Saving power of Christ," he says:

"It is probable, too, that in the minds of many who answered the question, there was no clear division between these

> three. . . .(Male:)—'I was attracted by the cross of Christ and the blood that He shed there for sinners.' A common answer is, 'I was attracted by the fact that Christ is the only Saviour.' "[44]

The Christian Christ sometimes appears to be an anchor for those whose mental outlook is such that they mut have a code or a definite ethical system, or whose general dissatisfaction with lesser ideals *and* uncertainty as to life's values, as we mentioned above, leaves them uncomfortable or afraid. To all such, Christianity brings its norms and beliefs as protective compensation to make up for what overt experience does not supply: it brings consistency in spite of lesser conflict, comfort in spite of lesser loss, security in spite of lesser uncertainties. And, usually carries self-regard with it.

If ideal norms and metaphysical beliefs are taken as psychological substitutes for the satisfaction of expressiveness and self-regard separately, as well as protection, it is easy to see how others of them are linked with strong emotional experiences in the convert. For, in spite of the difficulty of correlating satisfiers with their exact urges, some descriptions of the attraction of Christianity lend themselves to this general type of interpretation without any doubt:

> ". . . .What appeals most to the Hindus, at least to the educated man, is distinctly the ideal side of the Gospel: it is the character of Jesus more than His historical personality; the purity and loftiness of His moral teaching more than their practical application, and the realization of loving communion with God more than the restoration of the broken relationship. It is a great privilege to read the Sermon on the Mount for the first time with a spiritually minded Indian. To him it is not a code of morality or an exposition of Christianity's relation to Judaism; it is a revelation of a new ethical vision, giving life a new meaning and higher value. The possibility of such a type opens their eyes to a new world; they are drawn, not by the message of forgiveness, which, if they think of it at all, appears to them quite natural, but more by the prospect of power to overcome temptations in their own life. The Psalms appeal much to them, and so do Thomas a Kempis, Brother Lawrence's *Practice of the Presence of God*, and others of the older or newer Christian mystics, which

come much nearer to their hearts than most of the modern devotional literature."[45]

If considerateness toward those in need, were lacking in one's environment and in one's norms, and one read of it in the Christian Gospels, the instinctive susceptibility of man to kindliness (as Thorndike would narrow it down) is such that, other things being equal, he would tend to cling to the Gospels as secondary, sublimated, imagined, vicarious satisfaction of an innate need—a compensation in the realm of feeling and imagination only. An unmet craving for attention, social intimacy, status, expressiveness in some active cause or enterprise—these tend to make one susceptible to idealizations that do bring a certain amount of satisfaction. (In each case credulity is assumed, of course.) The father-God, as we saw above, may be a great comfort to those needing recognition. Having a share in the Christian's Kingdom of God may give gratification to those craving an enterprise or requiring an imaginative projection of their efforts. In this general field, we believe, lies the explanation of much emotional interest in redefining ethical norms and theological beliefs, regardless of their conflict with previously emotionalized norms.

Summary. Throughout this section and the preceding one, however, we have been considering chiefly the question of conflict, conflict among norms or conflict between norms and habits, that gives rise to protective responses. Irritation, bewilderment and restlessness, inferiority and fear, often accompany them. The conflict takes place only in a situation where the norms in question are really attached to the self as urge-satisfiers. It is caused by outside stimuli that discredit certain norms, emphasize the contradictions between them or the divergence between them and habitual behavior, or otherwise induce pronounced dissatisfaction. The question as to whether, still farther back, there is an underlying bio-psychological tendency toward requiring coherence, consistency, or unity in one's behavior—that can only be approached on the basis of a study of actual

conflicts, and of inconsistencies not producing conflicts. At any rate, the responses continue until some reorganization is attained. In the conflict and reorganization process, the fundamental trouble seems to be caused by unlinking urges from norms satisfying them; and until the urges are shunted off to other norms of some sort, or somehow dealt with, the protective responses persist.

In these two sections, furthermore, we have emphasized adjustment in what are usually called the moral, ethical, and doctrinal fields. It should be reiterated that one of the most significant things that occurs in this adjustment, is the functioning of ideal factors in connection with bio-psychological urges. As stated in the theoretical discussion in Appendix II, beliefs and norms function everywhere thus: One's belief that a previously disgraced son has acquitted himself valiantly in war, may yield a father a self-regard that changes his outlook on life. Or the granting of a pension to a widow may be news that checks anxiety and fear, restoring her sense of security and self-confidence. In the realm we discussed, however, we have merely followed a point stressed by mission circles, not sought for the full range of cases where conflict and funtioning of norms are linked with protective responses.

11. CONCLUDING CONSIDERATIONS ON APPROVING RESPONSES

In the last two chapters we have been examining the *attracting interests* which have brought non-Christians to the Christian mission group. These that have taken a real grip, so to speak. As the Syllabus of Contents covering this division indicates, they range from the relief of sickness and economic support to alliance with a protecting all-powerful Spirit; from greater status among their fellows to adventure into a new realm of values and ideals; and they include settling problems of conduct and of speculation on the nature of the universe.

This might be sufficient for a summary statement if there were not *a number of new categories calling for admission to the*

list we have used. Let us note several of them to see whether they are likely to raise new problems that must be dealt with as attracting interests, or whether they should be held over for treatment under some other division of the study:—

Note, first, three influences mentioned by Warneck. He devotes a couple of pages to the effect of the superiority of the white race upon primitive men's reaction to Christianity—this we have considered under the desire for economic and social advantage in the previous chapter. He gives some space to the influence exerted by the colonial governments in prohibiting certain customs and in bringing peace—these comprise environing or conditioning influences which parallel the propagandist's efforts both in disorganizing and reorganizing the existing mechanism for satisfying the basic needs of the group. Again he gives several pages to abrupt approval of Christianity due to extraordinary events, dreams, visions. This type of phenomena must be examined by the methods of associational suggestion commonly practiced by psychiatrists and psychoanalysts. The emotional settings, sub-conscious incubation, and hallucination must be connected with antecedent experiences; then only, can the causal factors and the basic interests motivating them, be ascertained. In the meantime they can be regarded only as methods through which certain unrecognized needs and interests manifest themselves.

In the second place, the student of group phenomena cannot help noticing that the Christian group has a powerful silent appeal merely as any consolidated group does. During a growing participation in the church group, that is, there is evidence of a relief from certain irritating social contacts or disapprovals of the outside world and an escape into a region where conflict is reduced to a minimum, on the one hand; and on the other, a taking off of inhibitions in certain ways, a freedom in expressing oneself, a release of confidences, approvals, etc. During prayer, also,—that imaginatively constructed group of two or more—the same relief and escape and the same taking off of inhibitions and release of confidence is experienced. These

group experiences exhibit phases of gregarious submission to the in-group simultaneous with escape from the critical eyes of out-groups. They also involve recognition and approval by the in-group, and even a sort of exaltation of the individual through taking to himself the distinction of the group. Scrupulous detailed data are called for to make this situation clear: and they will undoubtedly add elements to the analysis.

In the third place, the demonstration, by the mere existence of convert communities, that Christianity is practicable is declared to remove an important obstacle to approval. This we must treat as we did prestige: viewing any object or person with prestige from the standpoint of the reacting individual, is like listening when there is an overtone, or is like looking with a telescope, a magnifying glass, or a colored spotlight; viewing a project as feasible, is like getting a scene into focus or like seeing an engine move before judging its condition. The real is enhanced in the one case; it is observed closely as an actual process in the other. The test of feasibility may often be made in a very restricted sphere; in fact, the sphere ranges from two alternatives confronting one in a given crisis, to a large number of options covering many of the typical problems of life. While delay or acceleration on account of such factors as feasibility and prestige must be carefully noted, our concern now must be the needs and interests themselves; the haze of illusion we must regard as a possible interfering factor.

These three sets of comments make it plain that a *little further differentiation of psychological factors is necessary.* The attracting interests to which we have referred concerned things comparatively objective: articles, like food; conditions of life, like status; evaluations, like moral estimates; doctrines, like those about God. The question of feasibility does not concern any such appealing aspect of propaganda: whether or not a certain thing is clearly observable, is a conditioning circumstance that may make a given interest either more attractive or more repugnant. The question of "dreams and visions," again, relates to a conditioning mode of apprehending, registering, dissipating,

or reinforcing the appeal of certain interests. Like suggestion and hypnotism, modes of learning, and habit formation, it takes advantage of the bio-psychological nature of the human, but it is not to be identified with the question of the bio-psychological urges. The distinction here should not be made too fine, but for practicable purposes it is essential.

We do not mean to slur over *the place we have given to the urges.* As defined at the close of Chapter IX, section 6, in the Appendices, and elsewhere, they serve definite purposes. They allow us to refer to all behavior in a naturalistic way; they prevent us from using classifications that negate stimulus-response accounts of behavior; they afford guiding lines for suitable classifications of a fundamental sort; and even in the present unsatisfactory state of data and of definition of urges, they give clues to interpretations that are illuminating. And wherever man has experience with things "comparatively objective," as we have just said above, it is our contention that that experience can be fitted into basic urge categories in a way that is thoroughly worth while, making allowances for data uncared for by the categories.

There is one question, that of *individual differences,* which concerns both the conditioning psychological factors and the bio-psychological urges, and which is an aspect of our own and many other proposed categories. Outside of experimentation on special abilities like the musical, on learning, and on the senses, the discussion of individual differences chiefly has to do with "temperament." Broadly speaking, it concerns us here largely as a question of bio-psychological pre-adaptation to the new and the strange. Some people are by temperament alert and quick to perceive the weakness of the old and the advantages of the new, and bold enough to innovate—protesters, radicals, individualists. Others are by temperament phlegmatic, timid, cautious,—followers. Yet degrees of energy, extravertedness, or tendency toward active use of energy, and general temperamental differences which may affect the relative strength of innate tendencies, are most difficult to measure in the present

state of psychological science. And though undoubtedly of great importance in influencing responses, they cannot now be given their due prominence.[46] Individual differences, therefore, must be reckoned with in both the field of specific capacities and general urges, and the field of biological and psychological conditioning influences.

It is doubtless obvious that *the use of the socio-psychological point of view*, as versus purely objective or popular categories that do not take it into account, *alters many ordinary notions of the Christian and other groups.* This fact deserves some mention here, as it did in the orientation regarding non-approving reactions in Chapter IV.

In the first place, the fact that the Christian mores severely condemn and taboo anger against another individual, is usually accompanied by the assumption that anger is controllable and identifiable. As a matter of fact, the role of suppressed resentment as it breaks out in various "indirect" forms is scarcely appreciated. Certain of the data on the desire for status by the low castes and middle classes in India, suggest that this protective emotion is at work with a powerful but subtle influence in the form of resentment-at-being-held-down-in-their-inferior-position. And its power in reinforcing the urge toward status is the sort of influence that we must be on our guard for. It was not mentioned in the illustrations of the protective tendency, to avoid complicating the discussion and because the data in hand was not clear enough.

A still broader notion that obtrudes into classifications of Christian influence is that of selfishness versus unselfishness. If those terms have been made obsolescent by social psychology as is sometimes claimed, that fact should appear in an analysis such as we are making. As a crucial test, take the fact that from our point of view, all approach to Christianity is made for the satisfactions it gives. When not obscured by the term "individualism," or "emphasis on the worth of the individual," this fact is recognized in one garb or another. As it is characteristically put by a convert from Islam to Christianity, "The most

attractive feature was the provision made by Christianity for a personal salvation."[47] Under the old distinction between selfishness and unselfishness (self-emptying crucifixion of the self, etc.) as un-Christian and Christian qualities respectively, it would have to be said that Christianity is desired and embraced for its un-Christian-ness! In short, these categories, just as those of temporal and eternal, and of sacred and secular, are all cross-sectioned in a psychological analysis that utilizes innate tendencies. We are frankly in a different "universe of discourse"; we are committed to different sorts of categories combined with concrete accounts of behavior.

Another and final notion that plays a prominent role in professed causes of approval is kindliness, the assumption being that it is a Christian virtue developed by Christianity's magico-religious forces in the individual's life. Both the psychological basis of kindliness and a frank evaluation of its relation to the "humbler" virtues as they function in society, should be undertaken so that the popular Christian notion may not prejudice the reader. The testimonials on the effect of kindliness are positive.

> "The brotherhood of man always proves attractive. The sympathy, friendliness, and kindliness of Christianity tend to win those who have never been in such an atmosphere. Patience, love and sympathy are the three great elements of the Gospel which reach the Chinese heart. . . .A Chinese pastor writes: 'The element in the Christian Gospel which possess the greatest appeal is its manifestations of the spirit of love. It is this spirit appearing in the lives of Christians in the form of mutual sympathy and helpfulness and in the opening of hospitals, schools, and other philanthropic agencies, which above all others appeals to the people.' Another Chinese writes: 'It is the intelligence, kindness, good conduct, helpfulness, patience, and strength of Christian people and their manifold philanthropic work for the good of men which make the greatest appeal. The devotion, self-forgetfulness, and self-sacrifice of some Christians make a deep impression. China has no such men and women.' (C. C. Chang)."[48]

> "I asked a Southern Presbyterian—very conservative in her theology—what motive she used in her appeal to non-Chris-

tians. 'There are just two things, I find,' she said, 'that move them—the example of brotherly love in Christian lives, and the satisfaction which Christ gives to the heart that is longing for God.' "[49]

There is an apparently extraordinary case where an innkeeper refused pay in one instance avowedly because Richard was giving away medicine free to his countrymen and because he had previously given him "valuable information" about the outside world and about religion! [50]

Other things being equal, any person, it seems, tends to look with favor upon a missionary who helps him or his associates to overcome sickness, oppression or poverty, and sometimes other disabilities. The evidence is not minute enough to indicate precisely how it works. Probably there is an instinctive tendency, as Thorndike claims, to respond to 'a living thing displaying hungry, frightened or painful behavior' by attention and discomfort, and to respond to its relief by a sense of satisfaction. It is too much to say that personal gratitude operates in all cases where propagandic philanthropies are received favorably. On the other hand an intimate reciprocity of feeling may result from special attention and approval, as we have seen. It is possible that there is something specific corresponding to what MacDougall calls the instinctive tendency toward tender emotion; if so, it may be repressed under ordinary circumstances so that it is virtually an unsatisfied desire seeking gratification; and through kindliness— whether with propagandic intent or not— Christians may evoke it and afford it satisfactory expression.

Granting, then, that a complete account of kindliness must take cognizance of the urges resident in all men, its actual function in non-Christian groups must afford the basis for its evaluation in any scientific study—not a priori notions. Those who criticise it might say that it represents lack of individuality, assertiveness, and power—the characteristics of the weak, the oppressed, the uninventive followers. Those who praise it reply that it often represents the harmony and order of strong control, and as such, attracts. At any rate, here is the testimony:

"[Male: conversion age 20:] 'An acquaintance with the private life of Mr. and Mrs. H———played an important part in drawing me to Christ. . . .I could not but be impressed by the sweet home life of a true Christian family.' So writes one man from a Hindu home. . . .[Male; conversion age 19:] 'At the age of twelve I went to a Mission School and during my three years there was greatly attracted by the simple and humble godliness of the missionary in charge. Do what I would, and I was particularly mischievous and trying, he never lost his temper; his utmost sincerity and lack of hypocrisy was a source of constant surprise to me.' [Male:]—'I was first drawn to Christianity by the humility of a missionary at J———, who was preaching in a bazaar opposite the Government School. A blind Muhammadan showered on him a veritable hail of silly questions about the conception and birth of Christ, but the explanation was given in a very humble, gentle spirit. . . .'

". . . .[Female:]—'I was greatly attracted to Christianity by noticing that Christians live more peaceably among themselves, than those of other religions, and they behaved gently. . . .' [Male: conversion age 16:] 'I was greatly influenced by my teachers at the High School who were Hindu converts and also by Mr. N———, the principal. But especially by an ex-soldier of the British army who worked at the School and College as gymnastic instructor. He was a most earnest Christian, and his happy smile won me.' "[51]

In this connection it is of interest to note that according to Annett's witnesses, the things that attracted individuals from non-Christian homes to Christianity were on the whole the things that attracted males rather than females, and the things that attracted individuals from Christian homes were on the whole the things that attracted females rather than males!—Both restlessness and a sense of sin are to this extent classifiable as non-Christian and male. Both fear and love-of-Christ, as Christian and female.[52]

It scarcely needs to be added that those approving responses which have thus far been examined, have been analyzed directly per se. Their classification and interpretation have been attempted without the roundabout procedure found necessary in examining the non-approving responses before a satisfactory method of analysis had been determined upon. As repeated previously, all of the suggested analysis and interpretation is

tentative. Our general method of attack is the only fundamental policy we are advocating. With the aid of generalized analyses of individual and group tendencies by experimental psychology and critical sociology, detailed data will lay bare more and more of provocative stimulus and conditioned response. In the meantime there seems no reason why such tentative analyses as those made in the last two chapters, may not be carried a great deal farther by means of data available.

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CHAPTER XI

DECIDING FOR GROUP CANDIDACY: INDIVIDUAL TYPES AND MASS MOVEMENTS

(Salient Transition Types and the Mass Movements)

After analyzing Approvers in terms of the fundamental interests that attract them, we must make *a division* of them. Those whose approving responses bring them finally into the propagandist's church group, must be put in one class. Those whose responses do not do so, in the other.* This division is arbitrary but it is practical and it is necessary if we are to follow out the propagandic process. For the propagandic technique and its effects can be best observed only in cases where the applicant for church membership is deliberately manipulated by the propagandist's tutelage and his various agencies for producing conformity. Of these two classes, therefore, we shall leave for later more incidental discussion those whose adjustment does not carry them into the innovating group. The

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*It might be profitable in each case to go one step further and to ascertain *just what* are the attracting interests which, *at successive periods*, the candidate feels *can be satisfied outside the group, and what only within the group.*

Livingstone wrote: "One patient expressed his opinion of my religion to the following effect: 'We like you very much; you are the only white man we have got acquainted with. We like you because you aid us whilst we are sick, but we don't like your everlasting preaching and praying. We can't get accustomed to that!' " Blaikie, 237.

The Report claims that in every field where missionary work is carried on, there are some who are influenced by the Christian message, who desire some association with the Christian Church, but are in no sense candidates for baptism, and cannot yet be regarded as on probation for Church membership. . . . Such persons definitely acknowledge certain elements of truth in Christianity. In some cases they would even admit that the Christian religion is true, and that Jesus Christ is all that He claims to be, the Son of God, the Saviour of men. Their lives, moreover, are more or less influenced, and that admittedly, by the things which they have learned. They find Christian worship helpful, and the company of Christian people congenial, but whether from fear or for other reasons, baptism and a public confession of Christian faith are not yet within their view.

"Can any form of recognition be given to such a class? The question is important, since such persons now form on the mission field generally a large and growing class." *W. M. C.*, II, 81-82.

Many a Chinese or Indian scholar has thought he could satisfy his interests with missionary medicine, education, even the Bible itself, outside of the Christian group; while few of the illiterate Approvers may agree in the sum total of what they desire or of the basis of the white man's magic and power.

chance listener to street addresses, the pupil who leaves the mission school as a non-Christian and connects himself with no Christian church, the hospital patient who goes out to be heard of no more—these have all made some new adjustments in their ideas and attitudes no doubt, and require separate careful study; but we must delimit our investigations for the present so as to concentrate on the adjustment process of the others.

In the case of those who at some time become candidates for group initiation and membership, our problem now is this: how is the transition to candidacy effected? We can barely outline this stage in its simpler forms. It is complicated in actual life by being fused with the next stage, namely the initiating and training of the candidate into conformity with the group type.

> For instance: "I believe I was really converted, that is turned back, there, some ten years after I was baptized in my homeland. . . .The Spirit within me, examples before me, and Nature and things around me, subjugated me at last."[1]

It is further complicated by the great differences in the standards of group membership in different districts.* For the present it seems sufficient to note that the only universal prerequisite for candidacy is the request of the subject. And it seems necessary to delimit our inquiry to the *types of experience that cause the non-Christian to make such a request.* For the time being, the technique used upon him and the requirements made of him are only of secondary interest.

The transition from responding-to-some-interest-in-the-propagandist's-constituent-culture-elements, to offering-oneself-as-a-novitiate, may be *simple* or complex; it may be an easy and gradual process or it may issue from opposition, conflict, and decision in the face of threats on one's life. It may be found that some take the step readily as a sort of entertaining and profitable ceremony, seeing in it nothing that conflicts in any way with their routine of life. One may apply for membership simply because his employer is a member.

*The different standards of group membership in different regions are projected for discussion in a later volume on *Missions and Social Change.*

"The writer at one time had a coolie, Lao Wang, employed as gardener, who one day came to him with the announcement that he wished to join the church. 'Why?' I asked. 'Because I am working with you,' he answered. He was desirous of so adapting himself to his environment that he might reap every benefit. . .The incident of being employed by a European was the occasion for that crude or incomplete type of thought which adapts itself to the new situation without recognizing any of the deeper logical and moral implications of the act.

"Over the substratum of original primitive rituals, we find a veneer of Hinduism and Mohammedanism. Likewise in China, one and the same individual often sees no inconsistency in being a Confucianist, a Taoist, a Buddhist, and a Christian. Anything that works in the social environment is *ipso facto* satisfactory."[2]

Another may apply for church membership because he thinks that only candidates are taught the white man's knowledge adequately, and therefore thus alone can he satisfy certain ambitious interests. Of course such persons are liable to surprise and shock later on when their new tutors forbid various practices, but that is a matter to be taken up later.

Usually, identifying oneself with the new group by entering candidate classes, is known to involve acceptance of new norms and denial of old customs and taboos. Then it is a step *somewhat ominous* in its import and consequences. To many it is a chasm. Indeed, to attempt to cross it brings threats of every intrenched force in their own group. To pass over it leaves them cast out from their own group, and at the mercy of strange new forces.

". . . .they cling so," says Paton, "to their old prejudices and superstitions. I believe, to many of them, it is like taking a great leap into the dark to risk the anger of their gods by coming to the Worship. For what proof have they, at first, that we are leading them into the right way? True, they see we wish to be kind; but the idea of any one coming among them simply for their good is a doctrine they cannot understand."[3]

"When the negroes in Suriname were called on to destroy their idols and give up their heathen cultus they answered, 'We shall not cast out the dirty water till we have got clean water.' "[4]

"A change of religion," says Warneck, "would be a momentous rupture with the carefully guarded tradition, unless one at the same time attached himself to the people whose religion he adopted; in that case one would enter into the traditions of that people, would be under obligation to venerate its institutions, would accept its protecting deities as his own, and would thereby be protected against the wrath of his own national gods, that is, his ancestors. A change of religion is like the fate of a slave who changes his master. The new master into whose family and tribe he enters undertakes to protect him. But everything in the heathen resists such a step."

Of the Indian and Mohammedan women the Report says: "Sometimes the convert, feeling that she can neither deny her Lord nor be true to Him in her old home, comes out leaving all and not seldom at the risk of her life. Sometimes her purpose is discovered, when she either pays the penalty with her life or her resolution is broken by brutality and strict confinement."[6]

". . . .A cardinal tenet of Hinduism is that no one can become a Hindu unless he is born one. Formal conversions from the ranks of Muhammadanism and Christianity," says the India Census, "are thus impossible. Nor can persons who have once renounced Hinduism in favour of these religions be taken back [for example in case of those forcibly converted to Islam]. . . . Though there is at the present time no organized proselytism by the Mullahs, here and there individuals are constantly attorning to Muhammadanism, some few from real conviction, but more for material reasons, such as the desire to escape from an impossible position when outcasted or, in the case of widows, the allurement of an offer of marriage. Whenever there is a love affair between a Hindu and a Mohammadan, it can only culminate in an open union if the Hindu goes over to Islam. . . .

"At the present time, however, the deflections from Hinduism are chiefly the result of conversions to Christianity." [And they are largely from the least cultured and most Animistic groups.][7]

Townsend declares: "The convert is practically required to renounce one civilization and to accept another not in his eyes higher than his own. He is compelled first of all to 'break his caste,' that is, to give up irrecoverably—for there is no re-entry into Hindooism—his personal sanctity, which depends on caste, and his fixed position in the world, and his kinsfolk and his friends, and to throw himself all bare and raw into a world in

> which he instinctively believes nine-tenths of mankind to be, for him, impure. He must eat and drink with men of other castes, must hold all men equal in his sight, must rely on friendship and not on an association, must be for the rest of his life an individual, and not one of a mighty company. There is no such suffering unless it be that of a Catholic nun, flung into the world by a revolutionary movement to earn her bread, and to feel as if the very breeze were impiously familiar. . . .
>
> ". . . .With caste the convert gives up much of his domestic life, the harem-like seclusion of his home, much of his authority over wife and children, his right of his daughter to marry early, which . . .he holds part of his honor (to preserve morality), most of his daily habits, and even, in theory at all events, his method of eating his meals. A Christian cannot condemn his wife to eat alone because of her inferiority. Everything is changed for him, and changed for the unaccustomed, in order that he must confess his faith. One can hardly wonder that many, otherwise ready, shrink from such a baptism by fire, ..."[8]

The aggressive opposition and the maneuvering to fortify one's group against the Christian impact, as oberved in the previous chapters, is certainly adequate evidence of the importance of this transition stage in the eyes of many individuals or groups.

How then is the transition made? What are the main types of experience which effect it? What are *the dichotomies in experience, and the ranges from each extreme to its opposite* that are suggested by the data, regardless of the prevalence of any particular type? Obviously, emotional conflict is one extreme type suggesting a range from severe conflicts such as are familiar in the classic "conversion" of revival meetings, to unemotional matter-of-fact transitions to candidacy. A second aspect refers to the degree of awareness, the sweep of attention, the extent to which the course adopted is comprehended. The range in this aspect is from awareness of the most meager implications of his decision, to a minute inspection of Christian missionaries, converts, books, etc. A third point of view takes in the gradualness versus the suddenness of the transition, suggesting an obvious range of intermediate types. In a general way these three aspects of the transition experience represent merely points of view from

which this stage of the pre-convert's experience is examined. They overlap, yet they do each represent a distinct aspect.

There is no necessity for tracing each range of phenomena from one extreme to its opposite. The emotional conflict type of experience has been such an issue in theological discussions that it is interesting to note its absence in many transition experiences (section 1 below), its predominance in others (section 3). As the extent of comprehension enters in both cases, it is treated between the two, in its least noted but frequent extreme (section 2). Suddenness and gradualness do not seem to call for a special set of illustrations (aside from their illustration in sections 1, 2, and 3), although they may prove quite significant with more thorough investigation. In conflict experiences gradualness merely means prolongation of the transition: however, in the matter of comprehending the adopted mores, the more gradual the decision period the more accentuated does the superficiality, the credulity, the helplessness, the indifference, etc., of the individual appear. But such suggestions may wait upon data.

1. A DIRECT MATTER-OF-FACT DECISION

(Addition or Substitution of a New Cultural Technique, Without Emotional Conflict)

The receptive responses have shown non-Christians coming to missions with one or more objectives. While keeping up relations with the missionaries necessary to the attaining of their objectives, some find themselves in another stage altogether: viz., that of definitely applying for membership in the new group. It is this process of transition from mere novel interests to candidacy for Christian group membership, let us recall, which we now have before us.

In cases where the transition to Christian group candidacy assumes the form of direct decision to take on new cultural devices, observers' accounts are sometimes oversimplified.

> Of a patient at a mission hospital one writer declares that in "about a week she went to Dr. Hü after the service and said:

'Doctor, your religion is better than mine. I want to be a Christian. . . .' " [Three years later this woman brought in other patients to the hospital as an accredited church member.][9]

"After a careful study of the Bible, Habeeb found it impossible to continue his former share in the worship of the Greek Church, and his conscience told him he should make his position clearly understood." [He simply refused to go to the Syrian church. Thereupon his father forbid him a place in his home, etc.][10]

For the present there can be no great harm in this. One of the first things to realize is that interests, the immediate satisfaction of basic needs by propagandists' innovations, may lead almost directly to candidacy for group membership without any great conflict. This possibility is vividly appreciated by many missionaries.

"The very fact that among pagan Africans, after the thin crust of prejudice is broken, to explain and describe is to convince, is a great danger fully realized by missionaries. Conversion involves little or no mental struggle. No need is felt for hard thinking. The ethical standard demanded by the missionary affords, of course, abundant opportunity of its own kind for self-control. But there is rarely any conflict within the conscience, no conflict of rights. Missionaries indeed try to ensure that the chief doctrines of the faith are understood, and with many the effects on the mind are considerable. But where it is doubt rather than belief that is difficult, the habit of independent thought can have only slow and scanty growth."[11]

"Very frequently," wrote Dr. Hu King Eng of Fuchow, China, at the close of her first year in the woman's hospital, "I hear the patients say, 'Truly my own parents, brothers, and sisters could never be so good, so patient, and do so carefully for us; especially when we are so filthy and foul in these sore places. Yes, this religion must be better than ours.' "[12]

Rev. Arcadio Morales, "the Dwight L. Moody of Mexico," says:

"About the year 1858 my mother was in Zacualtipan, stopping with the family of a lawyer where the Bible was read aloud every night. It was not family prayers for there was neither

prayer nor hymn, only the Holy Book was read. My mother was so impressed by what she heard that when she returned home she frequently told us with enthusiasm of that book which without belonging to the priests, taught very beautiful truths.

"Of course at that time there were no Bibles (so far as we knew) in the Capital of the Republic. . . .

"By the good providence of God, four years later when I went to work for the gold weaver, Sr. Francisco Aguilar, I happened upon a Bible among his goods, which he allowed me to read.

"O, what a happy day that was when I returned home and told my mother that my master had the Holy Scriptures and gave me liberty to read it. . . .

"At the time I did not understand much of what I read, and one might almost say that it was hardly more than an innocent diversion for me to read about the creation, the plagues of Egypt, the wars of Israel, and some of the New Testament. What impressed me most was about idolatry, but withal I remained a fervent Catholic; . . .

"About six years passed. One day when I went home my mother said that she had been invited to attend a protestant service and baptism. As I was still a fanatical Romanist I was scandalized at such a thought, and the more so since my mother, the invited guest, unable to go, insisted that I should attend. I objected but . . .had to go. . . .

"The room was upstairs and as we ascended the stairs I felt as though the floor were of cotton (carpeted), my heart beat rapidly and I would have been glad to escape, but that was impossible. At last we got into the room where the people were gathered, and to my immense surprise the Protestants had neither horns, tail, nor claws, nor did they smell of sulphur! Being seated I quieted down, and when Sr. Lauro Gonzales took my old friend in his hands and read Matt. III, the blood in my veins began to run naturally. They proceeded with the baptism and the service closed. Afterward I asked if that was what Protestantism consisted of. They replied, 'Yes'; 'well then I have been a Protestant for some time,' was my answer, and from that day I have been separated from Romanism." [This was in the author's later teens.][13]

Employees or servants may say that theydesire to join the Christian church, as we have seen above, and may enter the candidates' first class for instruction. Many illiterates who actually join for protection, for profit, for status, etc., probably

proceed as soon as possible into church membership without much of a conflict.

> The warning against receiving recruits for these reasons is a familiar note in missionary literature, suggesting the general liability of it. For example:
>
> "Others come to the missionary seeking help in matters where pity and philanthropy strongly appeal to him to go to their aid. It may be needful in such cases to make clear that if the service desired is rendered to them, it is done on the grounds of spontaneous humanity, and not in return for the implied pledge or willingness on their part to abandon the old religion and adopt the new. Only where these conceptions have been made perfectly clear to all concerned can permanent and healthy mission work be done."
>
> In mass movements missionaries frankly recognize the enormous importance of these motives during the stage of application and pre-membership training.[14]

People feel that they have found a new ritual for relief, protection and help, and that they must submit to the new group in order to get thoroughly satisfying results: in the nature of the case the church group is the custodian of the mysterious cult, the giver of necessary ceremonial power, the interpreter of the sacred book, opening up the unknown powers to them.

> Four Chinese, cured of the opium habit and converted under Christian treatment, went home to their village of 3,000 and started a church of their own. "Their outfit consisted of four hymn books and a couple of New Testaments, and, after reaching home, they met together every evening and on Sundays, to sing from the hymn books and read and expound to each other the Testament. . . .Not one of them had learned to sing, so perforce they all sang different tunes, all original compositions, each in a different key. Not one of these men could read correctly, and, even had he been able to do so, his ignorance of Christian terms, and of the meaning of Scripture teaching, would have made his exposition at least quaint, probably heterodox enough to have had him excluded from every church in Christendom. Neither had any one of them prayed, or heard prayer, before his entry into the refuge, where he had remained less than ten days, much of the time in physical weakness and considerable distress. Indeed, the very word we use for prayer, *tao-kao*, was, in their ignorance, perverted to *pao kao*, 'protective information.'

"This purely native attempt at church foundation continued for a month or two, ..." [Then a missionary visited them; a church was started with further additions; etc].[15]

A leper came to one mission who had crawled on his hands and knees for twelve miles. For here report said that "wonderful cures were performed. . . .

". . . .Slow and wearisome was the process, but after some months he was sent home a new man. . . . .What pleased us most was, that from the first his mind had been quick to appreciate the beauty of the Saviour, and, on reaching home, it was not long before he gathered about him a few relatives and friends, who formed the nucleus of a church." [Later he died from his leprosy.][16]

Soothill had performed an amateur operation on the eyelid of a man in a sad plight. "The old man recovered rapidly, has been able to see better ever since, and founded a church in his village, whether out of gratitude to me or thankfulness for his spared life—his groans almost stopped the beating of my heart—I have never inquired. He is now one of our oldest Christians, a loyal, devoted old soul, who is ever delighted to hear of the spread of the gospel."[17]

In this volume we are studying, primarily, converts from non-Christian homes or environments. A great many of those from Christian homes, however, show a far more gradual adoption of Christianity than the preceding cases and yet the same sort of direct, simple taking on of Christian technique. In noting the following testimony, it should be recalled that Annett's informants were "mostly engaged in religious duties, either as preachers or teachers."

"[Male; conversion age, 18:] 'At eithteen I decided to serve Christ, that is, I so declared myself in public at that age although from childhood I loved to be a child of God and serve him. . . .'

"[Female; conversion age, 13:] 'I never was converted in the way you mean; but. . . .'

"[Female:] 'I never had any such experience. . . .I cannot recall a definite time when I actually decided to serve Him. I have all along felt that I belong to Him.' "[18]

". . . .Out of 146 Christian respondents, thirty-six say that they considered themselves true Christians before they had an

experience of conversion. . . .[Male; conversion age, 21:] 'I did not know before my conversion what it means to be a true Christian. I simply thought that as "I was a son of a minister I was a real Christian." ' [Male; conversion age, 26:] 'I thought I was a Christian because my parents were Christians, and because others treated me as such.' [Male; conversion age,18:] 'Sometimes I tried to console my conscience that I am a Christian as I was going to Church, reading Bible, saying my prayers, attending many services and meetings. But my conscience said, No.' "[19]

When one-fourth of Annett's exceptional informants made the transition so gradually and so simply, the chances are that, other things being equal, the vast majority of the rank and file of converts from Christian homes make it in the same way. This, in fact, is implied in the conclusion forced upon him regarding converts in general.

"With most [converts to Christianity], however, there has been a gradual dawning of the light. From a few days to many years the twilight had lasted, but the light had been growing stronger until at last the sun was well above the horizon."[20]

". . . .An intellectual grasp of the doctrines of Christianity as presented by the local teachers, a levelling up in measure to the accepted local standard of Christian living, and a tacit belief that all is well with the soul, appear to be the elements of religion in the great majority . . ."[21]

". . . .Conversion as a definite phenomenon of Christian experience is seen less frequently in India than in the West . . . there is a great dearth of any phenomena of conversion in the rank and file of the members of the Christian Church. . . ."[22]

The fact of greatest significance for us at this point is that many from non-Christian as well as from Christian homes—how large a proportion there is no way of knowing short of intensive studies of typical convert groups—do not appear to have any considerable conflict at all.

"It has always struck me as interesting that whereas the two main objects of our work in Africa are conversion and education, they have rarely gone hand in hand. . . . .Protestant missions, while theoretically aiming also at conversion, have practically allowed education to get the upper hand. I have no space to

elaborate this, but I have noticed again and again in South Africa that a heathen asks himself in regard to Christianity, not—Do I want to be saved? but—Do I want to learn the white man's knowledge?"[23]

"It is worthy of note that the prevailing opinion, among missionaries who have touched on the question, is that an initial consciousness of sin is not usual in cases of conversioin. Some exceptional instances are given, but, as a rule, true conviction of sin does not arise until a later stage of Christian experience is reached."[24]

"It is after they have become Christians [!] that their dissatisfaction with their former religion becomes intensified. One writes: 'I have hardly ever met with any whose first realised need was that of salvation from the curse and guilt of sin; this is to my mind a distinctly later experience, but I remember several cases of young men who, by the purity of Jesus' character and the lofty ideal of His moral teaching, have come to realise that their own religion has nothing to compare with this, and no power to deliver from the bondage of sin.' "[25]

"The attempt was made to discover the sins and temptations that had proved most powerful to those whose spiritual experiences we are considering. . . .About two-thirds of the Christians and one-third of the non-Christians [i.e., converts from non-Christian homes] do not reply to the question. In very few cases is this apparently due to unwillingness to give the information, while many say plainly, 'I do not remember,' or 'I do not know!"[26]

". . . .the average Indian Christian's personal experience is largely devoid of marked crises. . . .In many cases it was affirmed that it seemed impossible to focus the points in the long, upward path that led to faith, and while the majority of those who have corresponded or conversed on the matter are sure that they have attained to the place of personal relationship with the living Christ, they are equally confident that they cannot tell how they got there. . . ."[27]

It *may be* that many who have *no intense dissatisfaction with their former religion* and *no strong "consciousness of sin,"* do have *a certain type of emotional conversion experience.* The intercorrelations of these three experiences are unfortunately not recorded in the studies thus far made. Our general data on conversion, however, would not lead us to change the general

impression of the preceding reports; viz., that a large number of conversions are rather simple cases of the addition or substitution of Christian group technique in the wake of some rather definite urge satisfaction and of the approving responses that have accompanied it.

2. DECISION WITHOUT COMPREHENSION

(The Adoption of an Inclusive System of Behavior, Determined by Experience With Only Part of It: Taking the Part for the Whole)

It has come out earlier that the solidarity of the *primitive* group's mores is frequently such that discrediting one part of them results in discrediting the whole related system or schema of them. Experience with a single part is allowed to determine behavior toward the whole. Data on this point should be carefully gathered, for it seems to present a most promising yet comparatively unworked field for observation.

Even such apparently remote facts as converts' demonstration to themselves of this solidarity, or appeals to their former groups on the assumption of it, are significant: one act in violation of the old code which does not bring misfortune, is frequently taken as proof that the schema in which that act was a single item is powerless and useless; one demonstration of tabooed conduct before the old group is taken as notice that the whole religion is abandoned:

> " 'Kapiolani was on her way to visit the volcano and spend the Sabbath there. . . .She is, doubtless, the most zealous advocate of any of the chiefs for the spread of the gospel among the inhabitants of these islands. . . . Upon the brink of the ledge, above mentioned, the whole party sat down and Kapiolani addressed them, saying: "Jehovah is my God, he kindled these fires, I fear not Pele." She then ate some of the ohelo berries, which were considered sacred to the goddess Pele and tabu to women.' "[28]

We meet this positing of the part for the whole, quite vividly in a first hand study of *the circumstances under which certain individuals become dissatisfied with their religion.* The fact that the breaking of the Hindu's sacred thread in the schoolroom

positively had to be followed by utter silence and considerable ceremonious behavior, as we noted earlier, made a number of Hindu boys turn away from the whole related scheme of beliefs and investigate Christianity.

> Again, a Christian teacher's assertion that idols were mere wood fashioned by the village carpenter, disillusioned P. Venkayga.
>
> Christian tracts weakened the faith of Gunga Dhor Sarrawagee in Jaganath. He sought a vision from Jaganath but was given none. He was told that special means such as cutting himself should be used to awaken the God. Instead he reviled the God and goaded him with a pointed iron. No result. He quit worshipping Jaganath.
>
> A child in a wealthy Punjabee home asked why his mother closed her eyes after putting food before it and ringing a bell to get its attention. "The gods creep up to the side of the dish and taste the food and thus hallow it, and afterwards we all take a little out of it," she replied: "but if we keep our eyes open the gods will not come to the food." The child tried the same—but peeked. Nothing happened. His faith in the gods was shaken and he would now handle them in his mother's absence.[29]

Annett received testimony of a number of converts whose more or less sudden disgust with idolatry turned them away from their religion, and in some cases toward Christianity at the same time.[30]

Times of crises where more acute disappointments are felt, stand as classical examples of this. Upon such occasions Christian doctors depend continually.

> "A very large number of converts, probably the majority, have forsaken the idols because, in time of sickness or adversity, they have obtained no deliverance. They expect that the God of the Christians, if He be more powerful, will give them health and wealth," says Moody of Formosa.[31]

Operating in the more purely imaginative realm, single criticisms of idols and of non-Christian gods are occasionally successful in discrediting the whole system consciously thought of as connected with them.

In another case, it is said, a woman told the native Christian physician that she really preferred Christianity, but if she changed her religion, the idols would punish her, her children, and her children's children. When the doctor assured her that the idols were merely wood and stone and could not hurt her, even though this was contrary to her life-long beliefs, she took his word for it and violated her religious taboos that same day.[32]

A supplementary fact or corollary is that *the Christian schema is frequently accepted* with the same completeness *on the basis of a single incident, sentiment, or belief.* The first part of this proposition, the completeness, will come up for comment at a later time. The second part, the reach or leverage of a single element in a complex situation under certain circumstances, may be illustrated with several incidents:

". . . .A Hindu lad of twelve under Christian instruction saw a boy fall from a tree and die. He says, 'I went to the spot and a great fear came over me that I might die unprepared. I went home and prayed earnestly that God would show me how to have my sins forgiven.' [He was converted six years later.]"[33]

Hormazdji Pestonji, a Parsee, who had been exposed to some missionary teaching, was confused once while swimming, and thought he was going to drown.

" '. . . .Then before his mind came the hitherto forgotten words of the missionary, "Him that cometh unto me I will in no wise cast out." "Why should I not come? was the question of his sinking heart. "I will—I do trust Jesus." And he did then as a drowning man cast himself upon the Saviour of the lost, and joy unspeakable filled his heart. At this moment he was seen from the shore, and when about to sink from exhaustion he was rescued. . . .' " [He accepted Christianity].[34]

". . . .Dreams that impel to action are rather less uncommon [than visions, and voices, etc.].

" 'Then I fell asleep,' says S.T.G., at that time a Muhammadan, 'just where I was on my prayer mat, and in my sleep a light shone and I saw a man who was wearing a long, white kurta, and he embraced me and said, "I am St. John, and the writer of the book you are reading—whatever is written in it is true, and the words have been spoken by Christ himself, and He has sent

me to you that, having revealed myself to you, you may have satisfaction and belief." I answered him, "I believe and I accept." I awoke feeling very happy, and from that day I resolved to seek and find Him.' "[35]

"I was a wild, reckless, foul-mouthed man, always spoiling for a fight. . . .But one day as I was passing the St. Chapel I thought I would go in and hear what the 'foreign' preaching was about, so I went in and stood amongst the people at the back. I hardly understood it all, but one phrase went to my heart, and I couldn't rid myself of it. The preacher said, 'It is sin to curse and swear.' Now I hadn't opened my mouth without blasphemy since I was a child, and, if it was a wicked thing to use such language, what a wicked old sinner I must be! This was the only thought I brought away with me, but it showed me how much in need of change I was, and proved the means of my salvation."[36]

"[Female; conversion age, 14:] 'I was converted at a midweek prayer meeting. The speaker told of our Saviour and His death on the cross. Oh, it was a very striking meeting! Throughout it I gave my mind and ears wholly to his words. My eyes filled with tears when I took it all in. Then he said, "Children, this is the day for salvation. Don't put it off, saying you are too young. See what He has done for you!" These words cut me to the quick, and then and there I decided to be God's child! . . . ."[37]

Most Missionaries distribute tracts. It is not a rare thing for natives to read them and to be impressed by some thing in them. Some even look up the missionaries or mission stations, as Old Wang did, to get explanations. And this in turn leads to attendance at classes and sermons and sometimes conversion.[38]

In each case something shocks, startles, or attracts the attention; a single lead is taken up and followed intently with apparent disregard of the vast number of relationships it has; and the attitude taken in this pursuit of a single factor becomes the basis of wholesale repudiation or acceptance of some system or schema.

Different group and psychological factors functioning in this type as well as in the preceding type will appear in the next two chapters. However, the principle of allowing experience-with-a-part to determine our behavior-toward-the-whole of a code or creed or set of ceremonies or attitudes, is itself far-

reaching. It comes up in abandoning non-Christian religions *en bloc*, in accepting Christianity or backsliding from it in the same way, and in formal unreflective conformity to a whole regime of any kind on the strength of some benefit from one or several factors in the regime. Previously in Chapter III, we noted *an opposite principle*; viz., allowing an impression-of-the-whole to determine reaction-toward-the-part: it operated in arousing antagonism to the missionary because he was one of a general class of people known as aliens, barbarians, exploiters, etc. *The significant thing in both principles is that the individual has a most incomplete acquaintance with the specific object or objects toward which he adopts a certain line of behavior.**

3. EMOTIONAL CONFLICT: THE TRADITIONAL "CONVERSION" EXPERIENCE

The facts of elaborate conflict are inescapable in many instances. There is distinct evidence of two conflicting courses of action, of two conflicting reaction-systems or sets of habits and complexes. The existence of group opposition mentioned early in the chapter, makes this inevitable, from the standpoint of social psychology. The individual's protecting behavior is proof of it. Less obvious to the layman is the testimony of dreams and visions with reference to Christianity, which psychology and psycho-analysis have shown to be often an evidence of conflict. And still less apparent is the testimony of the mere consciousness of the innovation—for consciousness of a thing is evidence that it has conflicted with the routine of habit or the immediate behavior. In proportion as the difference between the old *modus vivendi* and the new mores is emphasized to the individual subject, a more emotional, accentuated, and elaborate process of transition is almost inevitable.[39]

Conflicts that are resolved with the individual still outside of the group, belong in our analysis of the non-approving responses:

*E. L. Thorndike's law of "Assimilation or Response by Analogy" probably operates here: "To any new situation man responds as he would to some situation like it, or like some element of it. In default of any bonds with it itself, bonds that he has acquired with situations resembling it, act." Possibly his law of "Partial or Piecemeal Activity" operates also. Thorndike, (B), 147-148.

those we are considering now are finally resolved with the individual entering the group—they are called conversions, by Christians.* To get the whole conflict process before us in various aspects it will be well to go over sample accounts of it:—

> " 'When I was 16 years of age, we heard a strange Rumor among the English that there were extraordinary Ministers Preaching from Place to Place and a Strange Concern among the White People. This was in the Spring of the Year. But we saw nothing of these things till Some Time in the Summer, when Some Ministers began to visit us and Preach the Word of God: and the Common People also came frequently and exhorted us to the things of God which it pleased the Lord, as I humbly hope, to Bless and accompany with Divine Influence to the Conviction and Saving Conversion of a Number of us, amongst whom I was one that was Impresst with the things we had heard. These Preachers did not only come to us, but we frequently went to their meetings and Churches. After I was convicted I went to all the meetings I could come at, & continued under Trouble of Mind about 6 months, at which time I began to Learn the English Letters, got me a Primer and used to go to my English Neighbours frequently for Assistance in Reading, but went to no School. And when I was 17 years of age I had, as I trust, a Discovery of the Way of Salvation through Jesus Christ and was enabled to put my trust in Him alone for Life & Salvation. From this Time the Distress and Burden of my mind was removed, and I found Serenity and Pleasure of Soul in Serving God.' "[40]

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*For any adequate comprehension of religious "conversion," the processes by which conflicts are resolved or dissipated must be understood. Aside from the references to conflict given under 39 in Bibliographical Notes (p. 408), one should take into account processes represented in concepts such as the following, regardless of whether they are entirely accurate:—

(1) *Isolation* and *repression* of the newer or older complex, at times producing phenomena of multiple personality. (E.g., Prince, 487.)

(2) "*Conversion*" in the physio-psychological sense of transmutation of psychical into physical manifestations.

(3) *Sublimation* by transmutation of pent-up emotional energies into secondary mental phenomena (orthodox Freudian psycho-analysis).

(4) *Abreaction, catharsis*, or, emotional outlet through *diffusion*—the releasing of pent-up emotion by somewhat diffuse reactions or by bringing ideational matter concerned up into consciousness (E.g., Pfister, 446 ff; Healey, 31; Watson, 214-215.)

(5) And probably the gradual attentuation and disintegration of a complex or reaction-system.

(6) The facts and hypotheses regarding *ambivalency* and *ambitendency* should also be considered. (E.g., James, (A), 449; White, (A), 67; Prince, 388a and preceding, 471 and footnote, 497 ff.)

See p. 43 ff. of Healey for a convenient summary on different apropos concepts.

A. B. A., a man of considerable force of character, after hearing preaching, was one of two to question Soothill till midnight.

" 'When I heard the gospel preached in our temple,' he said, 'I was convinced of its truth but not yet converted by it. . . . Afterwards, when services were started in our village, I used to attend them, but, though by this time thoroughly convinced of the Truth and its value, I carefully avoided taking off my hat or kneeling with the rest, but wandered about during the service, ostentatiously smoking my pipe. . . .

" 'One Wednesday evening, at a service I attended, he took as his text, "Neither do men light a candle and put it under a bushel." He described a variety of bushels such as the bushel of covetousness, the bushel of evil desire, and others, but it was the bushel of pride and false shame that interested me most. That went home to my heart, for it was the pride he described that had kept my hat on during this very service, as it was also this pride that had kept me seated at the opening prayer when everybody knelt. That night Mr. Soothill took the bushel off my lamp, for at the closing prayer I no longer resisted, but knelt for the first time in my life with Christian people.'

"This capable scholar soon afterwards wrote a treatise on Christianity, which he distributed among his literary friends from whom for a long period he had to endure both ostracism and vituperation. His treatise, and other books distributed by him, helped towards the enlightenment of many of the local literati, and today no man in that neighborhood need feel shame at being a Christian."[41]

". . . .One day she was invited to attend a Christian service. She agreed, rather to please the one who asked her, than with any definite idea of what she was going to do. 'To worship God' was to her a very vague expression. The general impression was that it meant the abandoning of all their social customs, the rejection of their ancestors, and the adoption of the worship and customs of the despised 'barbarians.'

". . . .her impressions were favourable. She carried away one thought, to which she clung with irrepressible delight, and which became the germ-seed in her life of new ideas. It was contained in a line of one of the hymns, and it said that God was the giver of houses and clothes and food. This touched her with irresistible force. Twenty years after the event, when she was telling the story, her eyes flashed, and her face beamed with joy, and she said, 'These were the first words that led me to

God.' They were so practical. She had been struggling all her life with poverty. She was then living in a tumble-down shanty, and how to pay her rent, or where to go when she was turned out of it, she did not know. Here was a revelation to her. The idols never promised that. This was her first step toward the new life."[42]

A poor illiterate farmer, Chai, was dispossessed of a lucky piece of ground of high altitude, by a rich man who built a tomb on it. Chai threw the tomb down, and was imprisoned for it; he repeated it, and was chained. "He was in dispair. The sense of wrong suffered goaded him to madness. He refused to have his hair cut, and went in and out of the prison yard looking like a maniac. He declared he would go in the garb of mourning till the end of his days, unless he got his case redressed.

"Thus weeks and months passed away. One day a sudden impulse seized him. He lifted up his eyes toward heaven and prayed, 'O God in heaven, if there is a God, help me to break this chain and escape from prison. You see how I am wronged. Hear me, and help me, I pray you, O God in heaven.' He began to wrench the chain with the strength of a madman, and lo! the links parted and he was free. The links in these chains are often not welded, but, however we may explain the fact, he felt that Heaven had released him."

He escaped and lived as an outcast for some time, venturing home at dead of night.

"The wronged and wretched outcast one evening wandered by a chapel where a native evangelist was preaching. In the course of his discourse, he frequently spoke of 'the living God in heaven.' Chai Gee was startled. 'Why,' said he, 'that is the God that helped me.' He was stirred to the depths of his soul. He became an 'inquirer,' and a regular attendant at chapel services, and soon declared himself a believer. He was full of an unspeakable delight. He now went to a barber and had his head shaved, and took pains to make his shabby clothes appear as respectable as possible.

"His few friends were, naturally, astonished at the change.

" 'You have shaved and dressed yourself again. Have you got back your land?'

" 'Oh, no,' he replied, 'but I have found something worth a myriad farms. I have found the living God and his Son Jesus Christ, and am an heir to possessions worth more than the whole world.' "

He told his story before the church with streaming eyes. He was accepted and baptized. To all who would listen he told his story. He won many converts.[43]

With an older brother Zia was given an education by his poor widowed mother. Though he had to earn a living for himself and his mother, he associated with scholarly men. He went to W. A. P. Martin's chapel in Ningpo. After a while he presented over 100 propositions on which he wanted to know Christianity's bearing or interpretation. When intellectually convinced, he joined the church. He was abusively persecuted by his brother, and whipped by his mother; etc. "Zia patiently endured it all without a murmur, or word of reproach, but neither force, threats nor entreaty could shake his purpose.

"Soon after his conversion he was employed for a year as teacher . . .but at the end of that time he asked to be allowed to take up evangelistic work, and was accordingly sent, with his young wife, to a newly opened region . . .where he labored . . . preaching . . .wherever he could get a hearing. . . ."

Arrested by Taipings, he "miraculuously" escaped after a few days, prayer having been offered by many for his escape.[44]

With regard to the Kumamoto school, a private school established in the interests of the anti-foreign party in Japan, the following statement was made by Paul Kanamori, one of the pupils:

"For the first two or three years Captain Janes said little or nothing about Christianity, but gave his whole strength to teaching English and the sciences; but he was so kind and fatherly in his treatment of his pupils that they came to forget that he was a foreigner, and they gladly listened to whatever he said to them.

"As he was a fervent Christian his desire to preach to his pupils must have been intense; but under the circumstances he wisely contented himself with first seeking to win his pupils' hearts as the best possible preparation for the future sowing of the Gospel seed. After he had been there about three years he one day said to us, 'I shall teach the Bible on Sunday; any one who wishes may come to my house.' We still hated Christianity as though it were a snake, and did not like even to see a Bible; but we so respected him that we concluded to go to the meeting. One of us went to the teacher of Chinese and asked his consent. He replied that we might go to learn about Christianity, not to believe it but to study its strong and weak points in order to oppose it. And so, of the few who went, some went simply out

of curiosity, others for amusement, others that they might oppose —none with a desire to accept it.

"The portions of the New Testament that we read had no flavor for us, and the time seemed spent in vain. But our teacher was kind and assiduous in his teaching, and fervent in his prayers for us. During his prayer, which seemed tedious to us, we sometimes opened our eyes and looked upon his face with its closed and tearful eyes, and then we laughed, saying that 'Americans weep.' At this time he simply taught the Bible, and never exhorted us to become Christians; and when two of us thought to impose upon him by pretending that we wished to become preachers, he met them sternly, saying, 'You are not yet worthy to become preachers; go on with your Bible study.' A year later, in 1875, a few were really touched by the Gospel, and this was followed by a division of the students into two parties, the one favorable to Christianity, the other seeking to oppose it by reviving the study of 'The Great Learning' and 'The Doctrine of the Mean,' as taught by the Chinese sages. In August of the same year, Captain Janes added preaching to his biblical instruction. His sermons were long—sometimes three hours long—but as we had become interested in Christianity they were never tiresome to us. All who attended these meetings were studying the Confucian morality at the house of the Chinese teacher every Sunday afternoon, and so, for a while, we were studying Christianity with Captain Janes in the mornings and Confucianism with the Chinese teacher in the afternoons. For about six months we were thus divided in our admiration for Christianity and Confucianism, but by the end of the year all except one or two were united in their belief in Christianity.

"By Captain Janes' advice some of us spent the New Year's vacation in the study of the Gospel of John, and in prayer to God for his blessing upon ourselves and our classmates. When the new term opened these Christian students had a faith which burned like fire, so that they could not but preach to their fellow-students and try to lead them to the gate of salvation. The whole school was like a boiling caldron; the studies were neglected, and groups of five, six, or seven men began to study the Bible in the recitation rooms, the dining-room, or in their private rooms. These students had but little knowledge of the Bible or of theology, but they were impelled to preach, even though some of them were not more than twelve years old. The recitations were suspended, and Captain Janes gave himself to the work of preaching the Gospel to the students. We had not even heard of the word 'revival,' and knew nothing of the special workings of the Holy

Spirit. We wondered why our spirits burned like a fire, and why we preached the Gospel like madmen. One said, 'May not this be the work of the Holy Spirit mentioned in the Bible?' And others answered, 'Yes, it may be.' Our preaching was not confined to the school, but found its way to the servants of the teachers, our kindred in our homes, old men and women in the streets, and so on.

"Now I must speak of one who was secretly praying in her closet, who received an open reward from her Heavenly father. This was Mrs. Janes. She had no acquaintance with the students, but for many months her mind had been filled with intense desire for the salvation of the students, and she prayed day and night for the Holy Spirit to come upon them. This was the hidden cause of the revival. This revival continued for about a month, and those who confessed faith in Christ numbered over forty, and more than forty others were studying the Bible. On the last Sunday in January (1876), a beautiful spring-like day, the Christian students went out to a hill. . . .They went singing hymns as they climbed the hill, and, taking their seats in a circle on its summit, they made a solemn covenant together, that as they had been thus blessed by God in advance of all their countrymen, they would labor to enlighten the darkness of the empire by preaching the Gospel, even at the sacrifice of their lives. They prayed kneeling, and wrote an oath-paper, on which they signed and sealed their names.

"The fact that this covenant had been made became known, and all those connected with the school cried out in dismay, 'Alas! the students have become Christian priests. Captain Janes has made Christians of them. If this be not stopped our hopes for the school will be gone.'

"At this time the life of Captain Janes was in great danger, and the Christian students were persecuted in a thousand ways, for Christianity was looked upon as a kind of witchcraft. One mother said to her son, 'If you don't abandon Christianity I must kill myself in order to wipe out the stain which you have cast upon your ancestors.' A father said, 'If you don't give up your faith I will kill you immediately.' One student was confined in his room for one hundred days, and was finally driven from home. There was not one who was not more or less persecuted. On this account the number fell off to less than thirty. But the true believers, although the oldest was under twenty years of age, were immovable in their faith, and ready even to sacrifice their lives. They were constantly encouraged and comforted by Captain Janes, and enabled to stand against the persecutions,

> which continued for about six months; so that the believers not only gained the victory, but were made all the stronger by their persecutions. By the following autumn, Captain Janes left Kumamoto, and the Christians went to the Doshisha school in Kyoto, to prepare themselves more fully for the preaching of the Gospel."[45]

The conflict is prolonged in the first instance, and conscious initial protest with subsequent apology-defense-reaction is added in the second; the third and fourth exhibit suggestion operating at times of crises after some period of incubation; the fifth summarizes the other extreme of more detailed deliberate comparison of values; the sixth shows the propagandist first utilizing an intimate-sociability interest to secure the right of way for suggestion, and then guiding a group movement, crisis, and favorable resolution.

Of the transition types we have now illustrated, this last has provoked most analysis. Phenomena of emotional conversion conflict have already been analyzed by William James, Starbuck, Coe, Burr, and others.* Japanese conversion to Christianity has been studied by Kato, and Indian by Annett. Psychiatry, psychotherapeutics, and psychoanalysis are now making a fundamental contribution to its understanding—

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*One might refer for general orientation to a few paragraphs from James' pioneer study in *Varieties of Religious Experience*:

"To be converted, to be regenerated, to receive grace, to experience religion, to gain an assurance, are so many phrases which denote the process, gradual or sudden, by which a self, hitherto divided, and consciously wrong, inferior and unhappy, becomes unified and consciously right, superior and happy, in consequence of its firmer hold upon religious realities." P. 189.

"But to find religion is only one of many ways of reaching unity; and the process of remedying inner incompleteness and reducing inner discord is a general psychological process, which may take place with any sort of mental material, and need not necessarily assume the religious form. In judging of the religious types of regeneration . . .it is important to recognize that they are only one species of a genus that contains other types as well. For example, the new birth may be away from religion into incredulity; or it may be from moral scrupulosity into freedom and license; or it may be produced by the irruption into the individual's life of some new stimulus or passion, such as love, ambition, cupidity, revenge, or patriotic devotion. In all these instances we have precisely the same psychological form of event,...a firmness, stability, and equilibrium succeeding a period of storm and stress and inconsistency. In these non-religious cases the new man may also be born either gradually or suddenly." Pp. 175-176. [See also 391e.]

Prince's articles at least should be familiar.[46] In none yet made, however, are the group aspects of the conflict given due recognition. Davenport has considered the crowd-psychological aspects of emotional conversions in revivals, and Sidis has put together some good material on them, also. Martin's striking application of the psychoanalytic point of view to crowd phenomena includes religion and should be consulted.† But even these by no means exhaust the subject of group influence upon the individual's course of action.[47]

It is mainly to open up further this group aspect of simple transition, of taking the part for the whole, of emotional conflict conversion, and of other aspects of this stage *that we are discussing the transition process in three full chapters* (XI-XIII). To view this aspect of the process in perspective, we shall try to get in mind the group differences and the group conflicts in general as they create, determine, or condition the issues within the individual—yet the individual's peculiarities and other conditioning factors must not be overlooked. The purview of these different influences will enable us to see the actual sources of the norms and attitudes which rise into dominance in the individual's resolution of the conflict. In the meantime one extreme kind of group influence represented by so called Mass Movements should be definitely before us. Although they present various types of individual transition to candidacy, our attention must be confined to the general group phenomena.

"Suggestive therapeutics abound in records of cure, after a few sittings, of inveterate bad habits with which the patient, left to ordinary moral and physical influences, had struggled in vain. Both drunkenness and sexual vice have been cured in this way, action through the subliminal seeming thus in many individuals to have the prerogative of inducing relatively stable change." P. 270.

In summarizing his entire analysis, he says:

"I explained the shifting of men's centres of personal energy within them and the lighting up of new crises of emotion. I explained the phenomena as partly due to explicitly conscious processes of thought and will, but as due largely also to the subconscious incubation and maturing of motives deposited by the experiences of life. When ripe, the results hatch out, or burst into flower." P. 230.

See his analysis of the volitional type, 206-208, and of the self-surrender type, 210 and 212.

†Since the above has been printed, his new book on the *Mystery of Religion* has been announced. It should be significant.

4. MASS MOVEMENTS.

(Crowd-psychological Movements Presenting Parallel Group Types)

It is distinctly understood by many a missionary that where whole families, clans, communities, or other large groups apply for candidacy they are not supposed to have any "religious experience" at first. He knows full well that such groups come over to satisfy their general desire for security and protection in a very primal way. Theirs is certainly (1) a "Direct Addition or Substitution of a New Cultural Technique" (2) on the basis of a partial comprehension of the obligations they are assuming, to quote sections one and two of this chapter. In some cases a missionary goes so far as to accept many from such mass movements immediately into church membership itself, but he usually maneuvers to admit them at first only to candidate classes, to take them through months or years of tutelage, and after this to demand a number or most of the usual qualifications for full membership. If possible, of course, he influences them to attain what he regards as normal Christian experience and fair conformity to Christian group norms—whatever they may be in any given case.

> "On the whole, we may say that the general judgment upon mass movements seems to be more favourable than might have been expected, and when the testimony of our correspondents is read in the light of what we know of the history of the Church, we are led to hope for great things from movements which often arise obscurely, determined by motives of a low order, but which at later stages develop the more spiritual character, and by faithful and patient teaching may evidently be made to contribute largely to the building up of the Christian Chuch."[48]

> Professor Griswold of the Forman (Presbyterian) College in Lahore says: "The conditions laid down for baptism are not the same in all the missions. Earnestness of purpose is required by all. Sometimes considerable numbers are baptized with no other qualification than an apparently sincere desire to become Christians. But usually something is given in the way of instruction: *e.g.*, at least the name of the Savior, and the fact that He gave His life for sinners, and that salvation is only through Him, and frequently the Lord's Prayer, Ten Commandments, and Apostles Creed, either the whole or in part."[49]

Robinson, writing in the *History of Christian Missions,* makes the following comment upon the field presented by Griswold:

"The total number of Christians in the Punjab at the end of 1921 was reckoned at 167,413. Their rapid increase in number has been in part due to the policy adopted by certain missionary societies of baptizing those who desired to receive baptism without demanding any period of probation or any intelligent knowledge of the Christian faith. Most of the missionary societies which are at work in the Telegu country, where mass movements on a large scale have taken place, have found by experience that it is necessary to keep groups of inquirers under instruction for three or even four years before admitting them to Christian baptism. A contrary policy has been adopted in the Punjab by the American Methodist Episcopal Church, the American Presbyterian missions, and the Salvation Army, which are working among the Chuhras, who occupy a position similar to that of the Lal Begis in the United Provinces, at the very bottom of the social scale.

"The same experiment has been made and the same argument has been urged in other parts of the mission field and in different periods of Christian history; but few who have made a careful study of Christian missions from the earliest times down to the present day would venture to say that in any single case have the final results justified the adoption of the policy of 'speedy baptism' for which Prof. Griswold pleads."[50]

In considering mass movements, we must keep in mind at least these phases of the problem:

(1) We are talking in terms of thousands. For example, in 1895 the converts in the Punjab, India, according to Robinson, numbered 4,000; in 1901, 37,000; in 1911, 163,000. Mass movements are continuing in various fields at the present time in the same way:

In 1910 the Report asserted: "The evidence before us shows that while mass movements have been experienced in many parts of the mission field, the most important at present are those in India, in some parts of China, and in Korea."[51]

"The mass movements towards Christianity continue and constitute at once the highest encouragement and the most pressing problem of the Indian situation. To take two examples only, the Wesleyan Mission in Haidarabad has more

than doubled its numbers in seven years and during the past year the baptisms have averaged about 1000 a month, and the C.M.S. Mission in Ellore, which reports 1000 new inquirers in the first two months of the year, has in the last ten years trebled the number of church adherents, quadrupled the communicants, increased village schools threefold, and raised its contributions from Rs. 4000 to Rs. 21,000. Attention is being directed to finding the best methods of education and of Bible teaching in village areas, and there is a growing sense of the value of cooperative movements along economic and social lines. Experience is proving the advantage of requiring public testimony and the relinquishing of heathen practices from those enrolled as catechumens."[52]

(2) These masses of people usually belong to the simpler culture groups, the lower classes, the poor, the oppressed, and the ostracised.

Speaking of the simplest culture group in India, the Dravidians who comprised about 30,000,000, the Report declares:

". . . .The type of work which has hitherto been successful among them is the evangelization and education which have produced the mass movements referred to above."[53]

". . . .The so-called 'mass movements' in different parts of India are resulting each year in turning a multitude of the outcastes and of the members of the lower castes towards the Christian fold. The readiness of these depressed masses to receive the Gospel and to accept baptism is indeed impressive. During a single year recently about three thousand souls in the south-east portion of the Nizam's dominions placed themselves under Christian instruction. Similar movements are reported in the United Provinces, in the Punjab, and in Western India. In one section of North India, at the present rate of in-gathering, it will be only a few years until practically all of the 'sweepers' will have come in; and there are at present signs of a break among a still larger class—the leather-workers. Several lower castes are very accessible. Some missions are baptizing as rapidly as they can thoroughly evangelize and teach. Others testify that they could double or quadruple the number of baptisms were they able to double their force of workers. Missionaries insist that if the Church fails to prosecute a very aggressive movement to evangelize these prepared multitudes and to win them for Christ, they will be drawn elsewhere, and come under influences which will greatly increase the difficulty involved in reaching them."[54]

> And in China, "Indeed, the most despised of the poor, the aboriginal tribes, have recently been most open to the Gospel message. One correspondent labouring among the Nosu and Miao, tells of 'many tens of villages that have become wholly Christian; in hundreds of villages Christian bands are living and witnessing for Jesus; . . .and the outcome of it all is that in 1909 there are probably 50,000 people nominally Christian.' And he is describing an evangelistic movement of only five years duration."[55]

The same general facts have come out in our discussion of group organization, Chapter II, and of the receptive responses in relation to primary life needs and status, Chapter IX, section 1. What these facts mean is that the motivating desires, so far as any distinct ones are reported, seem almost universally to be the economic and social ones. So far as the revivalistic type of mass movement appears to be an exception to this principle, it will be considered further on.

(3) The group organization aspects of mass movements which condition the operation of the elemental urges, seem to be twofold. First, if a number of the group discredit the group organization and mores by abandoning certain customs for the new religion and by doing so with consequent prosperity instead of harm, then the opposition of their communities to them, to further disorganization, and to a wholesale infiltration of ideas and sentiments into the group mores, is likely to be weak.

> "To the African animist the Cross brings no offence. There are no dogmas in the old religion to abandon, scarcely any idols to destroy. Its only protection was tribal solidarity, the unity that religious ideas, social custom and the authority of chiefs combined to uphold. That protection was shaken by the conversion of the first hundred in a tribe. It was broken in pieces when they were seen to suffer no injury, and then to get great worldly advantage."[56]

Second, if a number do not discredit them thus, the group organization is preserved rather solidly at first and the group as a unit acts as a medium of the new changes.

> ". . . .The missionary found that amongst the non-Aryans there was practically no intellectual system, but only a number

of crude religious ideas to deal with, and that the communities could be taken over bodily into his own ecclesiastical organization. The religious life of these communities was quickened by the vitality of his own spiritual life, and the way of advance was at once apparent to them. The mass movement thus begun, spread with rapidity amongst the various divisions of the great Panchama class, aided by the circumstance that it was a mass movement, not separating them from their fellows, but incorporating them in what was manifestly a higher and better social organization."[57]

In clarifying the alternatives presented in this group organization aspect, let us bear in mind that the so-called low motives represent basic needs inadequately gratified under existing environmental and group conditions. But such a situation does not always precipitate a mass movement that sets aside the old group machinery. Even after the environment loses its power to satisfy, the group organization may maintain itself in spite of some dissatisfaction and restlessness within its ranks. The presence and action of neighboring high caste Hindus may have taken away the desired self-pride of the Dravidians or prevented it from expression, and the hard agricultural conditions may have made comfort and happiness impossible; but in other respects the organized group with its usual customs and taboos may function as before. With these conditions still existing, the outward advantages of joining a more prosperous or prestiged group may be apparent; and yet at the same time the old group may persist and hold its numbers. It is this *initial tenacity and persistence of group organization* that forces any adoption of Christianity into one of the two lines above mentioned. With this factor in mind, let us take them up in detail, reversing this order, however.

First, then, the group may come over as a group to the Christian church: but note that this may be actually equivalent to saying that *the group takes on the propagandist's Christian technique as an added means of supplying its needs!*

". . . .Mission work today is confronted with much the same conditions as mission work in the Middle Ages had to face in

Central Europe. In describing the Franks, Burgundians, Anglo-Saxons and Saxons, Hauck describes the heathenism of primitive peoples of today. 'It is not the individual but the whole people who decide whether they shall belong to this or that church.' . . . .'As the mission methods of the early Church were in keeping with the fact that the time of the Roman Empire was an epoch of the most intense individualization, so the way in which the Germans accepted Christianity was in keeping with the fact, that among them the solidarity of the nation imposing itself upon the individual was incomparably more vigorous than personal individuality. . . ." ([Footnote:—] Hauck, Altkirchliche und mittelalterliche Missionsmethode, (1901), p. 378.) In like manner modern missions deal with undeveloped peoples who are not free to put themselves in opposition to their religion, which is the possession and sanctuary of their nation. Fries, the missionary at Sifaoroasi (Nias), writes: 'In any possible change of religion no one will decide on his own responsibility; it is the council of the elders, who must decide, for, among our Niassers, religion is wholly a national affair. The alternative for the several clans is all or none. . . .' The Animist must, at the first, reject any preaching that separates religion from nationality, and demands from the individual a free decision."[58]

"At the start we had no idea of this work becoming a mass movement. But we soon discovered that the people would come in mass or not at all. They have suffered untold oppression through so many centuries that an outcaste caste feeling has become almost a passion with them. They have been driven in upon themselves by a harsh and unsympathetic outside world till the brotherhood has become a sacred thing. They come to us in mass; and if they leave us at any time soon they will leave us in mass. The old brotherhood will in time give place to a really Christian brotherhood, but it will be even then a brotherhood knitting them very closely together. They have been thus far Christianized only in mass. That is to say, all relinquishing of ancient rites and practices and acceptance of Christian rites has been the product of brotherhood councils. The minister or missionary who has not found a way of influencing or leading them *en masse* will not get very far with them. Many times we have been sure we had a village ready for baptism. The day is set and the people seem earnest, but before the eventful day delegations from that village are sent across the fields to the other villages of the brotherhood to see if it is all right. If the other villages have been got equally ready, word will come back to go ahead. If the other villages have been ignored, there will be end-

> less delays and postponements till the good minister gives up in despair or till he finds a way to reach the brotherhood as a whole. After they have become Christians the first struggle with them has usually been to get the women to attend services with the men. This can be accomplished, but only through an organization in which the leading men, or *chaudhris*, representing the people are won over to our side. It is pretty generally accepted among mass movement workers that the *chaudhris* are the key to nearly every situation."[59]

The fact that the authority of the group organization sooner or later may crumble as a result of the added Christian technique, and that the church group may virtually take a dominating position—this does not concern us now. The group organization per se functions in providing for its members certain interests on which their satisfaction and its survival appears to depend. In fact, it raises the degree of satisfaction for the time being by providing a substratum for additional interests from the Christian technique.

The *alternative* begins when certain individuals break away and definitely join the church—first a leader, then a few individuals, then tens, then hundreds, then thousands, as one converted Brahman says.

> As allowance must be made for the writers' points of view in the following account, in order to interpret certain important statements of theirs, we give the missionary's introduction and most of the Brahman's statement:
>
> "Let it be remembered here that this is the judgment of one who was himself a Brahman, one who, as a Hindu, could have nothing but contempt and loathing for the people of whom he now speaks. He says:
>
> " 'I shall say a few words about the work of the Holy Spirit amongst the low class, known as Chuhras:
>
> " 'They belong to the impure class of sweepers and scavengers of towns and cities. In the villages, they are employed as farm-laborers and in making and burning bricks. They are illiterate and sunk in degradation and vice. They have no fixed religion. Those of them who live in Hindu villages, follow the religious customs and manners of the Hindus and give offerings to Hindu gods and goddesses. The Chuhras of Mohammedan villages follow Mohammedan customs. They have no organized

priesthood nor sacred books. They worship a saint called Bala Shah. Hindus and Mohammedans look down upon them, and avoid physical contact with them. The number of these people in this district, according to the last census, was 19,205.

"'The Mass movement amongst these people towards Christianity was not sudden. The first man was baptised in 1888. He was a good man and opened the door for our work among his people and we put our greatest force on it. At first the baptisms were by units, then by tens and hundreds, and then at last, by thousands, and even whole villages came forward and asked to be enrolled in the Christian church. Our experience in connection with this work is as follows:

"'1. We believe it to have been caused by a special providence of God's grace, and the working of His Spirit. It has not been peculiar among the Chuhras of this district, but has extended to the whole province and the whole of North India. Similar movements have taken place in South India also. God has His times of special visitations of grace for special peoples and I believe the Mass Movement amongst the Chuhras of this district to be one of them. We believe it also to have been caused by the steady and faithful work of God's people amongst them. Amongst the minor causes may be mentioned the freedom from religion and social restraint enjoyed by these people, and the ease with which they could accept new truths. Besides they had nothing to lose, but everything to gain by becoming Christians. Many of those, who are influenced by this movement, become Christians from the love of truth, and to satisfy the spiritual instincts and yearnings of their souls. Some come to simply raise themselves in social status, and to enjoy the advantages of education offered to their children by the Mission, and others without thinking of any special objects, join their brethren without any special aim. Thus they are influenced by various motives.

"'2. The best mode of dealing with them is to receive them all and carry them through a course of instruction, and inform them of the objects of Christianity and, when they are sufficiently improved, and able to make an intelligent and creditable profession of their new faith, and show signs of real penitence by giving up idolatrous and other sinful practices, they should be baptised. There should not be "Mass-baptisms" in "Mass-movements." Every case of application should be decided on its own merits. This seems to me to be the wisest and safest course.

"'3. I believe the movement in our district to be genuine, to be from God and a sincere desire, on the part of these people,

to embrace the Christian religion. To make it permanent and productive of spiritual fruitfulness, the work should be followed up by daily pastoral care and teaching and by bringing our own personal influence to bear on them, to bring them up in the life and faith of Christ. Efforts should be also made to educate their children, and to teach them some clean and more respectable industry or trade.

" 'One racial characteristic of these people is their dullness of understanding. What you teach them today they forget tomorrow. Heredity and ignorance from time immemorial have made them dull. Great patience and perseverance are necessary to overcome this difficulty. They should be taught line upon line, precept upon precept, and that by word of mouth.

" 'A second characteristic is their want of moral apprehension. In many cases the conscience has to be created anew, and in all enlightened. Heredity and ignorance of all right and wrong for generations has destroyed all, or nearly all moral sensibility. Patient and prayerful working is necessary to restore life and light to the newcomers.' "[60]

Ignoring, for the time being, the other aspects of the case, let us note the characteristics of these initiators of the mass movement in whom we are now interested. Those who first attach themselves to the Christian group are likely to be particularly poor, diseased, oppressed, or outcast members of the group —this has undoubtedly been true in a great many mission fields.

"I found it to be a case of asthma, and a few doses of iodide of potassium worked wonders. From that time Numanian became our fast friend, though he still continued a determined Heathen and opposed the Worship. When he got better he came to work for us. . . . ."

"Many others who would have nothing to do with the Worship came to us for medical treatment, and in this way we gained their confidence."[61]

"Among the Battaks, as well as on Nias, slaves and the socially oppressed were the first to lend a willing ear to the Gospel and ultimately to venture on its acceptance. The chiefs and the well-to-do for long would have nothing to do with Christianity because it promised them no gain; but the poor and the oppressed soon cried to the missionaries and evangelists, Come and Help us."[62]

The first recorded convert to Protestant Christianity on Japanese soil was a Buddhist quack doctor employed to translate St. John's Gospel with a missionary. Of his experience, the latter writes:

"In the summer of 1864 he became quite weak. I was impressed with a failure of duty and asked him if he would be willing for me to seek a blessing upon our translation. On his consenting, I made my first impromptu Japanese prayer, which seemed to impress him much and which made a remarkable impression on me. One day, while explaining a picture of the baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch, he suddenly said to me: 'I want to be baptised; I want to be baptised because Christ commanded it.' I warned him of the law against Christianity and the fact that, even should he escape, his son might not. The son, being consulted, said that whatever would please his father should be done. On the first Sabbath in November his baptism took place in the presence of his wife, son and daughter." [The next baptisms were those of Murata Wakasa and Ayabe in Nagasaki, May, 1866. They were of the nobility. We have already mentioned them.][63]

As we have seen earlier, also, the first to develop a general interest in Christianity may be men of leadership and initiative who are seeking wider scope for their urges.

Closing a very brief mention of the "socialistic" character of Animistic tribes as a hindrance to missionary success, the Edinburgh Report says:

". . . .It appears that those who break the bonds of the organization become very strongly individualistic." [Investigation will probably show that this individualism is a cause and not merely an outcome.][64]

Sooner or later, given a people or a large group with the general status and conditions described above, the few who have broken the bonds of their group have a retroactive influence upon it if the propaganda is kept up. From evidence at hand they seem to afford a demonstration that discredits the older set of group guardians and technique as not inviolable, as not what they have claimed to be, and as less profitable than the newer set.

"It is different when the heathen Christians themselves are bold enough to smash some image of the ancestors, or cut

down a sacred tree. Their polemic is felt to be conclusive by their countrymen, for they too are under the evil-bringing power of their demons and ancestors."[65]

Samuel Crowther, the Black Bishop of Africa declared:

"It takes great effect when, returning, liberated Christians sit down with their heathen countrymen and speak with contempt of their former superstitious practices, of whom, perhaps, many now alive would bear testimony as to their former devotedness to their superstitious worship, all of which he can now tell them he has found to be foolishness and the result of ignorance, when he with all earnestness invites them. . . .'Come with us, for the Lord has promised good to Israel,' and all this in their own language, with refined Christian feelings and sympathy, not to be expressed in words, but evidenced by an exemplary Christian life."[66]

The radical heretical group demonstrates the feasibility and advantage of the new course of action at the same time as they discredit the old one.

". . . .the native Church attests to the non-Christian people what the Gospel will do for them individually and socially. It exhibits the Gospel as having a proper sphere of power and realization in their own land and among their own people. May we illustrate this idea? Primitive Malayans do not object in the least to the whites having other gods than their own, and do not deny that those gods are more powerful, wise, and gracious than theirs. But this acknowledgment is a poor incentive to the acceptance of the foreigner's god. For they say: 'We are under the influence of our ancestors, and we must be careful not to offend them, because they are able to avenge themselves and to enforce their supremacy. If we should forsake them, they would destroy us. The missionary cannot understand this situation, because he has of course no connection with our ancestors and gods.' The missionary is unable to meet this line of thought. It is the native Christian who proves that he, though born in the land, is really free from the power of demons, that he can live a happy and secure life under the mighty protection of the God who is God of the Malayan as well as of the European."[67]

". . . .it is a natural consequence of the facts already stated that as the Church becomes stronger, and the beneficent effects of the new Christian life are exemplified in it, it attracts the non-Christian community in contact with it. Christian education gives the children a greater intelligence and more bread-winning

> power. The homes of the Christians become cleaner, larger, healthier. By the practice of industry, economy, and temperance, the Christians advance in prosperity, their manhood and their woman-hood is elevated, strengthened, purified. The non-Christian people see the beneficent power at work in their midst, and begin to call for Christian teaching and seek a place in the new and better order. In many a mission field in the islands of the Pacific, in Africa, in India, in China, in Korea, and in Japan, there are illustrations of the power of a strong Christian community to attract and to assimilate. We are safe in regarding this power as at least an important factor in the production of the so-called mass movements which have become a feature in modern missions."[68]

Thus the destructive retroactive influence of mere heresy and radicalism on the part of the few who have gone over to the new worship, is augmented by a pull toward the new forces. So far as the larger group itself is concerned, a vague restlessness, excess of urge over satisfaction, and specific predisposition toward the innovations, are responses elicited by the apparent opportunity for greater satisfactions in the new field—all operating, of course, through the stimulus of suggestion to be considered shortly. Through this combination of forces, the public opinion of the group is gradually altered, prestige passes to the benefactors, and the mass movement is in full swing.

The two ways in which mass movements get under way are now before us—the one precipitated by the apparently successful example of a very few members of the group, and the other initiated by the group as a solid phalanx from the very beginning. It will hardly be worth while to examine at length this data on transition to group candidacy for church membership, *from the three standpoints* applied above* to transition to individual candidacy. Summary comments alone will be made:—It seems probable that the step is usually meditated for some time, not desided upon suddenly, except in the case of country-wide crazes or epidemics. (Even here, the psychologist would expect

*See p. 371c–372c.

investigation to disclose the fact that the issue had been forcing itself upon the group, even though the group might outwardly have opposed alliance with Christianity.* Emotional conflicts range from the heated debate and turmoil of a group on the issue of adopting Christianity, to the crowd-psychological crazes just mentioned. Some of the most interesting data bears upon the group's comprehension of what affiliation with the church involves for it: the propagandist himself frequently does not require or allow that the gap between the old and the new seem as great as it really is—virtually on the plea that such action might prevent the movement: he puts no substantial obstacles in the way of the group's deciding to accept Christianity as a mere technique for economic and social advantage; and he depends upon continually strengthening his influence until the group members develop capacity for the "spiritual conception" of Christianity. There is no doubt that the conception of it held by many groups at the time of decision is inadequate and false. The decisions made on the peak of emotional crowd-psychological situations, as reported from Manchuria to Africa (just as in such situation at any time and place), are likely to be salient examples of this type. Any situations showing enormous increases in church membership should be examined from this point of view, for it is well known that a revival among the members of a Christian church in a mission country may facilitate a mass movement by setting free a controlled stream of effective suggestions.

> "When Bishop Tucker arrived in Uganda in 1890 the number of baptized Christians was scarcely 200. By 1913 this number had risen to 90,000 and the Christian adherents (including the R.C. converts) were little short of half a million. . . .The present Bishop of Uganda (Dr. Willis) has stated his conviction that the rapid progress must, under God, be largely attributed to the fact that the church in Uganda has been to a greater extent than almost anywhere else in the mission field a united Church."[69]

*Particularly in such cases, in fact, as the psychoanalysts insist.

These different forms and the mass movement itself are *encouraged by propagandists to the utmost point* "practicable,'—that is, ultimately, *controllable!*

> "Notwithstanding all drawbacks and dangers, it must be said that the general impression made upon our minds by the statements of our correspondents is, on the whole, favourable and encouraging. All seem to be quite alive to the dangers of mass movements, and to the abuses which may spring up in connection with them, but at the same time there is a general agreement that such movements have yielded real and lasting fruit in many mission fields. It seems to be generally agreed, also, that mass movements should by no means be discouraged, that they should rather be welcomed, and that every effort should be made to secure from them the best results, and to avert the evils, and dangers of which all experienced workers are too well aware. The Bishop of Madras, whose words we have already quoted, gives his counsel in the following words: 'A mass movement is an open door, and the Church should press through it with all her might. . . .Press forward the evangelistic work. When a mass movement has been once begun, it should be kept going. It creates a feeling of unrest through the whole district that should be kept alive and never allowed to flag. When once men's hearts begin to be stirred over a large area, then is the time vigorously to preach the Gospel to all classes in every village.' "[70]

Practicability and success is thought of course only in terms of ability to follow up the initial step, to continue the operation of suggestion in tutelage, to supply enough teachers and preachers. Impracticability and failure is thought of in terms of inability thus to impose the new mores and the new group authority while suggestibility and docility continue.

> ". . . .It is a deplorable fact that certain hopeful mass movements have largely failed simply because the missions related to these movements were not sufficiently manned to conserve the results."[71]

Speaking of a place where ninety-five per cent of the Christians are due to mass movements one writer says:

> ". . . .Some fall away, more remain, and the general result has been most encouraging. We have many examples of true picty and loyal obedience to Christ among those who came to us first from mixed motives."[72]

". . . .and on the whole the testimony of our correspondents gives an encouraging view of such movements, and not a little testimony is borne to the real and lasting fruit which has been gathered from them."[73]

In more detailed studies, similar group movements on a smaller scale may well be compared with the larger mass movements.

". . . .Thus in China there have been not a few movements of villages or clans desiring to profess the Christian faith, in which a singular mixture of motives were at work."[74]

Too, there are fads or epidemics that have affected large territories. And psychologically related to large scale induced movements toward the Christian church with its cultural technique, is this induced popularity of only one particular phase of the Christian innovations. The fad for Christian education in Korea is an example:

"There has been a widespread movement for education throughout Korea, amounting practically to an educational revolution. It was for a time a sort of Korean fad to start a school, and everybody, governors, magistrates, town and village officials, noblemen, and wealthy middle-class men, all made heavy sacrifices to bring the blessings of education to their children. As a result, salaries of native teachers became abnormally high, and a vast amount of superficial education was inaugurated. This was but a temporary stage, and has led the way to a more stable and satisfactory condition."[75]

A partial explanation of this fad is given in the same Report: ". . . .from the earliest years the Korean people have placed a high value upon learning, ...under the native systems, education was under religious auspices and had a religious base. In the time of Buddhism, the monasteries were the schools and the monks the teachers. When Confucianism came to the front, the temples of the sages were the bulwarks of education, and only those who possessed some learning were entitled to appear prominently in worship. The idea of secular education, quite independent of and divorced from religion, was never thought of under the native systems of Korean thought.

"This condition has prevailed down to the present time so that when the Christian religion appeared among the Korean people, with its emphasis upon education, it was regarded as quite in the natural order, and Christianity was looked upon at

first rather as a great educative, than as a religious, force. . . . A ready means of access was therefore open to the missionaries of Christianity, of which they have availed themselves very fully."[76]

By way of conclusion, it should be reiterated that the broader lines of the decision period are all that we have had in mind. Whether an *individual* is swept into commitment to alien mores on the crest of an emotional conflict, or not, and whether he makes the crucial decision in the matter after any real comprehension of the step he is taking, are the sorts of questions vital to the psychology of this stage. The data presented in this and other chapters show a wide range of characteristics. But until such diverse cases as these are in mind, the investigator is in no position to inquire into the prevalence of different kinds of cases.

The way in which people decide to come over *en masse* is also touched only at high points. The dimensions and social strata of "mass movements" are fundamental for the analysis of any aspect of them. Whether or not a group acts *en bloc* to augment its own assets, or becomes discredited and disintegrated in adopting Christianity, is the crux of the mass movement question from the standpoint of group organization. The suddenness or gradualness of its decision, its susceptibility to emotional crowd-psychological crazes, and its comprehension of the step taken, are significant for further interpretation of this stage. It remains now to supplement this rough diagnosis of the subject's experience with some account of external influences that are brought to bear upon him.

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CHAPTER XII

DECIDING FOR GROUP CANDIDACY—*continued*: GROUP INFLUENCES

(Group Influences in the Transition Process)

Individual types and group or mass types all alike come under certain influences. In a general way, too, they all go through the same transition process on their way to the stage of candidacy for group membership. Without pressing these likenesses and the attendant differences, we must get at the common background where movement toward that next stage of the propagandic process is taking place.

1. THE PROPAGANDIST'S MANIPULATION OF THE TRANSITION PROCESS

The parts played by the different factors in any transition or conversion drama, are not easy to determine. The subject himself is rarely able to evaluate the motives and issues involved. He seems to rationalize them, to give secondary explanations. And, quite innocently too, for it is usually the group's erroneous interpretation which he holds; it is usually his subconscious processes which deceive him by the very rationale they offer, the psycho-analysts would say. Either a study of folk beliefs or investigations into the "subconscious" make this apparent. If the subject comes through an acute emotional conflict remaining a non-Christian, the unreliability of his evaluation of his own motives is often evidenced in the way he uses non-Christian group phraseology; if he comes through a Christian, in the way he uses Christian group phraseology and reasoning.

It is the full history of a convert's physio-psychological condition and interests, of changes in conditioning influences and interests, and of conflicts, that must disclose the actual issues in any given transition. One thing is certain: it is the appearance of new possible and actual interests which precipitates changes. Other factors may not be so easy to isolate. As we have remarked earlier, interests may accumulate for some time without either

crisis or commitment to the Christian system as a whole. On the contrary, in a Moslem there may be conflict at first sight. But take an ordinary patient in a mission hospital: he may be convinced that the foreigner's god helped his cure and is ready to help him in other ways; he may then learn that he can get into a mission school, and may enter one—all without a symptom of crisis or even of further changes. On the other hand, even in apparently passive pupils, or approving listeners in hospital or chapel, there may be a degree of conflict from the very first.

> "Although we resisted the influence of the religious instruction that we received as much as we could, tried not to listen, carried on a debate in our minds in defence of Hinduism, hoped that strong arguments must surely exist, although we could not discover them, still, a deep impression was made on our minds. We were convinced, in spite of ourselves, of a great deal that our teacher taught us.
>
> "When I told my father about the Scripture lesson, he told me that it could not do me any harm, if I always remembered that He whom the Christian called God or Christ was really Sivan; that the difference between Christianity and Hinduism was only a difference in name. 'If they say anything against Hinduism, say "Yes, yes"; but you need not believe.' "[1]

In the mission school where Sadhu Sundar Singh was sent by his parents, the Bible was taught every day. When first told to read the Bible, he protested, "Why should I? We are Sikhs and the Granth is our Sacred Book." But he bought one and began to read it. His respect for his own Scriptures and his pride in them, stirred him to horror and semi-fanaticism. "Soon he became the ring-leader of the boys who hated Christianity. Openly he tore up the hated pages of his New Testament and burnt them in the fire. Hearing of this, his father expostulated with him, declaring the Bible to be a good book, and telling him that he should have returned it to the missionary rather than have treated it thus."

He applied himself all the more to his own sacred books, and practiced Yoga under a Hindu monk, or, Sadhu, learning how to throw himself into trances, etc. When, after temporary transference to a government school three miles away, he was again sent to the nearer mission school, his bitterness toward Christianity appeared again. Once, says his missionary biographer, "when the shadow of a Christian missionary fell across

him, he spent a whole hour in washing away the pollution. Sundar speaks of this period as one of the most trying of his life, for he had come to the end of his own religion without discovering the *shanti* he was in search of, and his deep-rooted hatred of Christianity. . . ."

Restless with his unsolved problem, he took up the New Testament again. "Come unto me . . .and I will give you rest," held his attention. He studied and talked much with Christian teachers. "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son," also occupied his mind. At last he resolved to find peace before five the next morning or commit suicide. In Hindu fashion he bathed and retired to spend the night in reading, meditation, and prayer. That night he had a vision of Jesus, and strong conviction of forgiveness and acceptance by Jesus.[2]

It is the intention of the missionary group that the first gratification of desire, as represented in Chapters IX and X, be followed as soon as possible with "conversion" or candidacy for church membership. When this cannot be attained readily, it aims that the first gratification of desire be followed by another, and that by still others, until the accumulating force of them gets the better of opposing interests and thus compels the individual or group to join the Christian church group in order to secure adequate continuous satisfaction of the expanded interests and needs. This, at least, is the hypothesis we have come to.

The original interests attracting them may be, let us say, curiosity, relief from appetite cravings or physical pain, pleasing one's employer or teacher, getting rich through the white man's magic, satisfying the desire to solve some philosophical or theological problem, even the learning of Christianity's weaknesses so as to attack it the more effectively. The utilizing of these interests appears in the following illustrations:—

To the Chinese the Hwochow mission compound was territory for real sight-seeing. "Our guests' first observation is to remark upon the surprising cleanliness of the apartments, the next is to ask where we sleep, and the third is to comment freely upon our personal appearance. . . .Goat's mother has brought her relations on a promise that they shall see the foreigner's bed room and 'little iron tailor' (sewing machine), hear the musical box,

and be allowed to inspect the enormous sauce pan in which the school food is made, ending up with a visit to the rooms where the women read the Bible.

"Before, however, those favors can be granted, as she well knows, the party must be prepared to give its attention to the one topic upon which the missionaries never fail to speak," aided by pictures on the walls, Bibles, etc.[3]

During the construction of mission buildings at Lenakel, Tanna Island, in the New Hebrides, only those laborers were hired who would also attend the mission school. At first attendance was work, it seemed; gradually it took on novel attractions. The missionary, Frank H. Paton, says:

". . . .Then we began to translate some hymns together. The first one was 'Jesus loves me,' and Lomai's delight knew no bounds when we sang it to him in his own language. When we sang it in the school the people first listened mechanically, then their eyes opened wide as if they thought their ears were deceiving them, and finally they looked at each other in startled amazement as they realized that they were singing in their own mother tongue."[4]

An educated slave to opium tried to persuade the missionary Soothill to treat him. The latter tells it in this way:

"I told him I was inexperienced in this sort of work, but he was persistent in submitting himself to my tender mercies. Assured that faith was the best cure I urged him to prayer, and, in order to support his physical strength, dosed him with quinine as a tonic three times a day. He suffered, of course, but in ten days was free from his twenty years' thraldom, and being a man of strong will, and having given himself to God, he has remained free ever since."[5]

Soothill's general treatment of 300 to 400 opium refugees, he describes as "spartan": "Our treatment was as much moral as physical, for, recognizing the hopelessness of permanently liberating these men—whose will power had been so severely shaken by indulgence in so demoralizing a habit—except by the aid of a power external to ourselves, earnest prayer was daily offered, in which they all joined. It was, moreover, expressly urged upon them that the only certain cure was a change of heart, of life, and of companionship, which could only be obtained through Jesus Christ and His Church." [Of those who were treated very many later fell victims to the old habit. Soothill does not give figures to show what proportion of successful and unsuccessful cases had become Christian.][6]

Boon-itt was finishing High School. "But as yet it was only his mental faculties and his physical powers that were developing. His soul was not awakened. He went to church and Sunday School because that was the proper thing for every good student to do. He learned his Bible lessons well; but it was to please his teachers rather than to please God. He thought much of the good opinion of Dr. and Mrs. House, perhaps even more of the pleasure his mother would have in hearing of his progress; but his ideas of his Heavenly Father were very hazy and indefinite." [With the "help" of these influences he later became converted.][7]

Crowther writes: "Twelve years ago, hundreds of men and women, who now fill our Sunday Schools, and many of whom we see through that privilege are now able to read for themselves the wonderful works of God, thought they were too old to learn; they used to say that book learning was for white people, and was rather boyish employment. There were some few, indeed, who used to attend the evening school which was then kept, from motives of desiring to improve; but a greater part of them used to attend merely to please their missionary, who was also their manager. For often when school was opened with a hundred or more scholars, it was not often closed with many above fifty; for many of them, under pretence of going out, slipped away to their homes. Some there were who openly expressed their displeasure at school by an artifice most ridiculous in its nature. These were the inhabitants of Wellington. Upon agreement they soon assembled at the call of the bell, but before school was opened they all, with one accord, simultaneously rushed out of the grass chapel, through the doors and windows in the utmost confusion possible. To crown the whole they shouted in their country language, as soon as they got out, with an expression of their victory over the schoolmaster . . .these are the very people who have willingly contributed and built a chapel which is by far too small for the attendants on public worship on Sunday mornings and for the Sunday scholars."[8]

"The negroes on the Congo received the Baptist missionaries with great heartiness. Most of them desired to learn to read and write. It was afterwards discovered that they hoped to be made rich and distinguished by this magic art. Still their desire for knowledge opened the land to the Gospel."[9]

Old Wang, puzzled by "Shangti," or, Supreme Ruler, in a Gospel he ran across in 1873 came to the missionaries for their explanation of it. Thereafter "along with two others, he came

daily for several months to hear in broken Chinese the doctrine of faith in the Son of God expounded out of Romans and Galatians." He became a Christian and an evangelist.[10]

". . . .Poor Mr. Sheshadri's turban was often knocked off, and his coat was stained with mud and dung. But the patience and meekness which he exhibited, and his readiness to befriend his persecutors when they called on him, perhaps for a note of recommendation for employment, or any other kindness, made his name quite a household word among the people of Bombay. *Narayan Sheshadri, Bombay Padri*—this playful jingling couplet was continually in the mouths of the common people."[11]

". . . .In Nagasaki a young man named Futagawa Ito had feigned interest in Christianity with the design of assassinating Mr. Ensor, from whom he requested instruction. The story of Christ's love made so deep an impression upon him that he soon came to believe what he had once hated. He became Mr. Ensor's assistant, and in 1870 was helping in the printing of a tract when he suddenly disappeared. He had been arrested on a nominal charge of having transgressed a regulation concerning the wearing of swords; but in reality because of his connection with Christianity as was evident from the fact that he was offered his liberty if he would renounce that religion. . . ."[12]

The missionary Dr. Hail reports: "A priest of the Ikko Shin sect of the Buddhists at Minabe came to me to know what book or books he ought to study in order to overthrow Christianity. I told him that if he wanted to strike an enemy to kill him he must know his strong and weak points: that, if he truly wanted to strike Christianity to kill it, he had best first make a thorough study of it, and after he knew it, he would be able to know where and how to strike. He took my advice. After three years of honest study he gave up his temple, and asked to be baptized. I asked him how he came to wish for baptism. His reply was as follows: 'I studied Christianity for the sake of finding fault with it. After a thorough study of Christ and His teaching I have not been able to find a single fault, but Christ has pointed out a thousand faults in me, and now I want to dedicate myself to him for my whole life.' "[13]

What matter about the means of attraction, just so the missionary gets them coming, keeps them coming, increases the favorable reactions, weaves these together with personal interest and pres-

tige until they are bound securely to him and his group and "the cause" of missionary Christianity.

Those particular interests that the propagandist regards as vital in his scheme of life or mores, those that his group lays down as essential prerequisites for church membership—these are gradually organized into the subject's life process or abruptly injected into it.

During a single long meeting sustained by dramatic interest he wields the prestige of the unseen world in countless instances, threatening the security of present and future and offering the supreme boons of promised self-satisfaction.

> Some of the Christians in Nanchee had wanted a missionary, others said it would be like going to a tiger's lair. Soothill went. A mob of young people was on hand. "The hall is already packed—such a crowd, crush, and clamour! We have lighted a lamp and some candles, all brought with us from the city, but they throw more light on the speakers than on the crowd. Some ugly faces are visible, and we are told, in a loud whisper, that there are several bandits among the crush. Mr. Wang, the native preacher, climbs to a chair, and while our hearts are going up quietly to God, commences to address the mob. For a quarter of an hour he perseveres faithfully, nobody hearing him except a few in the very front; a political meeting packed by the opposition is a young ladies' school in comparison.
>
> "At last, having asked Mr. Wang to sit down, we face the congregation in person. It is long before quiet reigns, but in time all grows silent as an empty church, and help comes from on high to tell this people of the Great Father and His goodness; their ignorance is condoned, their sins are not spared; we preach of God, of righteousness, of a judgment to come, of salvation and the life eternal. The people no longer a noisy mob, listen for an hour without sign of weariness, though they have been busy in the fields all day. Finally we sit down, and immediately one of the roughest young men in the village, a banditti lieutenant, stands out and says aloud, 'He's spoken well, he's spoken well: if anybody has anything to say against him he's got to talk to me also.'" [Soothill preached twice more that night in the same place.][14]

During a series of stories or addresses he builds up an ideological and emotional setting in the hearers' minds which will apperceptively enforce his chief teachings when he later presents them.

"In my experience," says one Christian promoter, "the preaching of sin and remission of sin should be reserved at first, and much stress laid upon the message of deliverance. . . .The stories of the Bible are the best texts for such messages, because they show God and His dealing with individuals as with mankind, in an inimitable, simple, plastic way. These stories are sufficient of themselves without much comment of the missionary. In listening to them the heathen sees the image of God rise before him, so that there is no need to discuss God's attributes. He sees God's omnipotence, holiness, and love, and draws his own conclusions."[15]

They "get from them a clear conception of what the new religion desires and gives. It is the Bible stories that transform the religious thought of the Animist."[16]

During prolonged periods the pioneers among Oceanic peoples establish themselves in the good graces of the people so as to lay a basis for a converting influence.

"Oh, how we long to be able to tell you of a still deeper work among our Natives, a thirsting, not after knowledge only, but after the Lord Jesus Christ' There is none of that very apparent yet; and I was writing dear Mrs. Inglis lately, that it was perhaps only the prospect of our leaving that drew the Natives out, but she answers me that it is nothing of the sort, but the Lord Jesus Himself working in them, and drawing them to us first and then to Himself through us. . . .We confidently look to the Lord to manifest Himself to the hearts of these benighted ones, as He has done to so many in the Old Country."[17]

During months and years of schooling accepted or purchased by the students in a thousand mission schools today, he, as a representative of the Christian group, enforces attendance upon religious services, requires Bible study,* advocates his mores by direct presentation, secures prestige through an elementary use of science and pedagogy, devotes himself to securing the intimate confidence of the pupils, and, if possible, links the religious ideas and emotions evoked at these times to the pupil's self-regard and general security.

*Gradually opposition to these two practices among non-Christians is awakening some of the more liberal missionary educators to oppose them as positive requirements.

It may be surprising to hear that even "The accuracy of the scientific truth taught by Christians and the value of their educational methods have prepared the Koreans to trust the religious truths presented by them, and to value their religious teachings."[18]

Where there are government schools which do not allow religious instruction, as in Japan, hostels are put up and Bible classes are carried on outside of school hours.

". . . .This teaching of Bible classes either on the school premises or in the missionary's home, is a second method. Some lady missionaries have from 15 to 130 under instruction in the Bible. A missionary in Miyazakiken, in the island of Kyushu, is developing a series of Bible schools, which meet either on Sunday or after school hours on week-days. The only limit to the number is the ability of the missionary to supervise the work and instruct the teachers."[19]

And wherever possible the privacies of small groups and opportunities for solemn advice are taken advantage of.

In 1862 when Christianity and the Bible were under a severe ban in Japan, Verbeck wrote:

" 'My little Bible class of two goes on encouragingly; one of the scholars translates my notes on the Scriptures into Japanese.' "[20]

A convert H.D.M. reports of his pre-Christian days:

". . . .the Indian missionary . . .called over to my place and advised me to pray to God to guide me to the Truth. I prayed—and right earnestly, too—that I might be given light . . . .I became convinced that the greatest sinner that ever lived was I and Christ Jesus only could effect my salvation."[21]

Quite typical, these incidents serve to illustrate the process. They show how, through controlling the attention of the subject and in more subtle ways of building up roles of conduct, the Christian organization aims to develop new complexes of sentiments and ideas, or, new action-systems, which on the one hand are strongly organized with vital urges and on the other hand contain the ideas and emotions fundamental in the Christian group mores.

No propagandist is uncertain as to *what the ideas and sentiments are which must be welded into the interests of the novitiates.*

The traditional Christian picture of a great ethically perfect God must be held out, inducing a sense of inferiority and debasement, which again begets a readiness to accept the propagandist's group relation and group technique for compensating these attitudes.

> "The foundation of all Christian instruction is laid in the simple essentials of the Gospel, ... These essentials must be regarded as including in one form or another the knowledge of God, the sense of sin, and the appreciation of redemption. But the good news of the Cross cannot always be the missionary's first message. Without some knowledge of God and His character, men can have no true sense of sin . . . . there is little sense of personal guilt, or strong sentiment even against habits which are admitted to be wrong, and no rational understanding and dread of the consequences of moral wrong doing. These have to be created and deepened in the enquirer during his catechumenate. It is in the light of a dawning knowledge of God that a sense of sin is born, and it is to the man made conscious of his sin, that the story of the Incarnation and the Cross becomes a transfiguring revelation of the Divine goodness. It remains true in the main, as we have said above (p. 42), that it is not usually the acute sense of sin that brings a man to Christ in the mission field, but rather that coming to Christ creates within him for the first time the deeper consciousness of sin. Over all the mission field the great facts of the holiness of God, the offensiveness of sin, the lost and hopeless condition of unrenewed man, and the new hope of eternal life based on a spiritual regeneration, must be taught and emphasized, the truth being from the first imparted in its simplest forms."[22]

It is this the propagandist aims to secure.

(It is worth summarizing parenthetically but briefly the way in which this universal effort of the Christian missionary enterprise, functions (in precipitating the conflict): *what the effort implies for the subject's mores and milieu*, and how it fits into the original aim of those who came to its hospitals, schools, and churches, to get some deficiency in their own environment made up. First of all, it is evident that the propagandist group attempts directly or indirectly to manipulate the controls, the reaction-systems, the actions and beliefs and sentiments, the interests of the non-Christians. Second, it takes advantage of the limita-

tions of their physical and group environment for satisfying urges and for protecting themselves against the interests it does provide. Third, it is evident that in practice this involves manipulating the environment as a determiner of his interests: not only providing food, training in figuring and writing, and other technique of Western civilization, but manipulating the group relationships of men—e.g., getting them into association with new people belonging to the exotic group. (How alien or how alienizing from his entire milieu, we are not now considering.) Fourth, as one means to permanently successful manipulation, it is evident that the propagandist tries to induce the "asthenic emotion," an intolerable dominating sense of inferiority or debasement; he then holds out his own group's patterns of belief and behavior and his own group, as the only means of compensation for that sense of inferiority.

How many of these intentions or implications the individual subject perceives, is different in different cases. To be sure, they all realize, sooner or later, that the Christian church requires them to break off certain habits and customs. To tell him all the prohibitions and requirements at the very first, would frequently mean to make him averse to them. But the church provides him with such a rationalization of each step and process, as often takes the attention off of its immediate group effect and wins approval of it: a certain demand is "the will of God," a certain conflict is "between God's voice" and either "Satan working in them" or their own "evil selves," etc. If there is any truth to incubation of complexes as asserted by James, Prince and others, it operates here in the adjustment of old and new interests: it operates both in the case of evident and sub-conscious conflicts of old interests with new interests, along with their rationalizations. It is these conflicting interests, including incubating ones, which provide the materials for the incipiently divided selves representing old and new complexes respectively. The full implications of propagandism for the old interests may be least liable to become conscious if the individual or group associates with Christians and enters the church's candidate classes

without taking the inferiority attitude at all—obviously where this attitude is induced it means feeling inferior for retaining old interests that are now tabooed, and hence definitely acknowledging the conflict between the old and the new. This brings us back to one of the central elements of Christian mores which the missionary attempts to weld into the novitiate's interests.*

The inferiority, or, asthenic, attitude, as we have shown above, is one of the chief requirements among the professional aims avowed as central in all missionary endeavor; it is the end toward which much of church technique has been developed; and it must sooner or later be induced under the rationalized name of "consciousness of sin." Delay may be due to the non-Christian's lack of susceptibility; or it may be desired by the missionary for a number of very practical reasons, as in the case of Mass Movements.† Peculiarly fortuitous is it for the missionary if the inquirers have already taken on the inferiority role and are seeking a protective compensation for it—and the mores of many non-Christian groups contain elements that induce such a role.

In a letter to his father in 1891 Kamil, the convert from Islam wrote:

"You know, dear father, that I had neglected all religion and cared nothing about it. I gave no thought to this life nor to the resurrection and devoted none of my time to the worship of God, but was wandering in the sea of evil, engrossed with the world and its pleasures.

"My conscience reproved me for my sins, and I felt that a heavy burden of sin was accumulating upon me. At length came the time of my repentance. I asked God to have mercy upon me and help me to overcome the lusts of the soul and body, to forgive me all my sins, to cleanse my heart and preserve it from the temptations of the evil one, the devil. . . .

". . . .Rejoice, yes I say rejoice, over your son Kamil, for God has received him and pardoned him and hears his prayers. He has attended him in all his journey and never forsaken him."[23]

* See p. 418a above.

† Though justifiable as a brief statement, this paragraph anticipates a further study of the psychology of the candidate, the convert, and the missionary.

In 1890 this same young Syrian had called on Dr. Jessup in Beirut and handed him a letter written for Dr. Van Dyck, with Dr. Van Dyck's recommendation on the back of it. His letter read:

". . . .I have studied Turkish and Arabic in the military schools and have been in government service in Beirut. For thirty days I have been in the Jesuit College seeking the salvation of my soul and to follow the Christian faith, according to clear and convincing proofs. They proposed to send me to Alexandria, but my fathers and brothers protested. I come now to you. . . ."

After some conversation, Kamil said to Dr. Jessup:

"Sir, I want to know just what you believe about Christ and the way of salvation. I am not at rest. I find nothing in the Koran to show me how God can be a just God and yet pardon a sinner. I know I am a sinner and that God is merciful, but he is also just."

As indicated in a previous excerpt, Mr. Jessup referred him to the Bible and to specific passages, and talked and prayed with him; he had him come to his study and put before him a Bible, Concordance, Bible Handbook, Westminster Shorter Catechism.

Kamil came to Dr. Jessup to discuss passages of difficulty, the theory of trinity, atonement through Jesus, etc. "He seized upon the great doctrine of the atoning sacrifice of Christ with such eagerness and satisfaction that he seemed to be taught of the divine Spirit from the very outset. 'This,' he said, 'is what we need. The Koran does not give us a way of salvation. It leaves us in doubt as to whether God will forgive our sins. It does not explain how he can do so and preserve his honor and justice. Here in the gospel it is plain. Christ bore our sins . . . .' "[24]

In evaluating the above instance and the comment just below this by the same author, we should bear in mind that the usual "difficulties" of possible converts from Islam are intellectual, or, theological.

" Admit the truths which we hold in common with them," says the Rev. H. H. Jessup, Beirut, "and then show wherein their system is deficient. Moslems agree with us in holding to the existence of God, His works of creation and providence; an abhorrence of idolatry; the inspiration of the Scriptures; the exalted and sinless character of Christ, and the certainty of a day of judgment. What we need to insist upon is that man is a sinner and under condemnation, and needs a Saviour.

When a Moslem feels this his intellectual difficulties generally vanish."[25]

The biography of Chundra Lela is one of the best examples of this general type: her pre-Christian attitudes formed the best psychological setting for the Christian inferiority attitude—in fact a complementing and re-tagging of them seemed all that was necessary, from the psychological view-point.

"Peng gives this evidence that he was a sincere idolater. The Chinese have a theory that the gods are especially pleased if one burns his own flesh instead of incense. A steel skewer is thrust through the skin of the arm. To this a heavy candle and holder are suspended so the flame comes just below the arm. In this painful position the man walks for miles from one temple to another, without giving any trace of pain.

"Peng passed through this ordeal more than once. . . ."

. . . . . .

"Mr. Peng had many difficulties to face. Not only were all the ideas which he regarded as certainties in the spiritual world, passing away, and new truths taking their place, but he knew that persecution awaited a change of faith. His mother would reproach him bitterly and he loved and revered his mother. Besides, he was making a good living –largely by loaning money to persons engaged in evil practices. But he saw that to go on taking this interest would make him a 'partner in crime.'

"He sought and received much advice, especially from native evangelist, Mr. Wei . . .and at last presented himself for baptism. On account of this past life we felt compelled to tell him to wait.

"Another month passed: again the church meeting drew near, and again he was asked to wait. This was a heavy blow to a man who had usually carried everything before him. He now carefully reviewed his whole life, and resolved that no financial or other considerations should stand between him and church membership. He resolved not to write up law cases, as they frequently involved him in treachery and lying. As to money, where he could collect the principal he would do so, but to lose his loans rather than to remain a 'partner in crime.'

"Mr. Peng was very anxious during the days preceding the next meeting of the missionaries, evangelists and deacons, which body recommended the candidates to the congregation to be voted on for baptism. On the wooden platform, or 'drying stage,' of a Chinese house he gathered a number of Christians for a prayer-meeting. Peng made a solemn vow in their pre-

sence that whether received into the visible church or not, he would be faithful to Christ, come what might. He was baptized by Dr. Griffith John a week later."[26]

Let us not lose sight of the reason we are enlarging upon this inferiority attitude. The reader will notice that the role the propagandist seems to play throughout the conversion process, is merely an expansion of the role so stoutly objected to by the non-approvers; viz., that of getting prospective converts under control. In analyzing non-approval, this fact occupied the center of attention in one or other of its aspects; in the transition stage the same fact may be in the outer rim or matrix of attention, even when it is not indicated by such incidents, given elsewhere, as a Chinese scholar's ceasing to strut around a meeting house smoking a pipe and keeping his hat on. But it must be there sooner or later: the novitiate must accede to control by the Christian group and its leaders and mores. And scarcely anything could facilitate it more effectively than this attitude of submission or inferiority we have been discussing which (for that very reason?) is a specific and important element in the Christian mores.

This attitude, then, even where fortuitously it already exists to some degree, the propagandist further injects into the conflict under the aspects of Jesus' incarnation to redeem man; of the atonement of His death, or, according to more liberal views, the revelation through His life of God's continual fatherly forgiveness; of the consequent fitness and necessity that man be conscious of his failure, sin, and obligation, etc. This traditional procedure, with Christian rites and ceremonials and group attitudes, is most effective for achieving the propagandist's ends when it takes hold. It makes the approvers receptive toward his solution of their conflict.*

*It may be claimed that there are many cases of conversion which do not involve this sense of sin. Agreed. Some may merely add certain of the alien religion's interest to their cultural assets by a very simple process, as we have seen. Some may involve even a balancing and a choice from two different options, each regarded as equally creditable. These should be carefully examined. Professionally, however, the Christian church always claims to require the consciousness of sin and penitence for it, sooner or later.

As to whether William James correctly describes the inferiority-redemptive and the superiority-stoical attitudes, in his discussion of conversion, we are doubtful; but data as yet unpresented must determine it.

A Christian Chinese clergyman writes: "He [his father] . . . .determined to take us two brothers up from our home in the country, to study in the Christian school at Paotingfu. At that time I was not more than ten years old. When I arrived at the age of sixteen, I listened once to a minute description of the trial of Jesus before the Sanhedrin and Pilate, and of the suffering and ignominy he endured, even unto death. My conscience was pricked to the quick, and for a week I wept. I then earnestly sought baptism, and I determined to give my life to the work of preaching Christ, as a small partial payment for the dying grace of our Lord. The picture of the death of our Lord Jesus is constantly before my mind and heart."[27]

"On a Sabbath day [he was in America working for $25.00 a month] I went for a walk along a quiet street. I saw a Chinese enter a church, and I followed him. A foreigner asked me if I brought any books to study. I replied that I had no books, and no money to buy. I asked permission to read the Chinese scrolls and writings on the walls.

"I read the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed and the Commandments—the latter made me feel very guilty. Then there were the hymns. One particularly, 'Jesus, Wash Away My Sins,' made a great impression. Even as I stood there my burdens seemed to grow lighter and my sorrows to partly vanish. When leaving the church I appropriated a small pamphlet with questions and answers written out in simple Chinese. On reading it I found it sweet as honey.

". . . .I now joined a class for the study of English. Rev. A. M. Loomis taught me my alphabet. I asked him to baptize me. He thought I needed more instruction. He induced me to buy a Bible. It was very precious to me. I studied it every spare moment. . . .

"About this time I went to San Francisco, and fell in with some Young Men's Christian Association men. I was a member of the Junior Association. They introduced me to a convenient church. I was baptized in July, 1873."[28]

Pandita Ramabai gives her experience as follows:

"Some years ago I was brought to the conviction that mine was *only an intellectual belief—a belief in which there was no life.*

"It looked for salvation in the future after death; God showed me how very dangerous my position was, and what a wretched and lost sinner I was; and how necessary it was for me to obtain salvation in the present and not in some future time. I repented long; I became very restless and almost ill, and passed many

sleepless nights. . . .I could not rest until I found salvation then and there. So I prayed earnestly to God to pardon my sins for the sake of Jesus Christ, and let me realize that I had really got salvation through Him. I believed God's promise, and took Him at His word; and when I had done this my burden rolled away, and I realized that I was forgiven and was freed from the power of sin. . . .I became very happy after that. There was not a shadow of a doubt as to my having obtained salvation through Jesus Christ."[29]

Webster of Moukden describes a rather exceptional revival in a pamphlet called *Times of Blessing in Manchuria.* In it he claims:

". . . .That which oppresses the minds and hearts of the penitent is not any thought of future punishment of the wicked. That thought may have been present to them, but seldom has one heard it expressed. Their minds seem full of the thought of unfaithfulness, of ingratitude to the Lord who had redeemed them, of the heinous sin of trampling on His love. . . .It is this that has pricked them to the heart, moved them to the very depths of their moral being, and caused multitudes, 'not being able longer to contain,' to break out into a lamentable cry, 'God be merciful to me a sinner.' "[30]

An informant was converted "at a communion service. It seemed to have been effected by that beautiful hymn, 'O Love Divine, how sweet thou art.' The singing of this hymn produced a most wonderful effect on my mind. It filled me with [such] an intense joy that for the time being I could not pray coherently and I had an assurance of complete reconciliation with God."[31]

When there is a conflict or a possibility of one, therefore, the propagandist's technique is aimed at determining one of the main features in the conflict. It is also aimed at securing his own solution of the conflict. *He will not encourage or allow, so far as he is able, any other solution of the conflict.* Rather he will keep the subjects in the midst of their confusion until they come way over to the "Christian" solution. It is like keeping them in the woods until they will accept the way out that he offers them.

A Christian missionary among Mohammedans at Lokoja after delivering a speech and final exhortation, was addressed by their leading speaker: "'Now, tell where do these two roads of the Messiah and Mohammed meet?' 'They never, never meet.

> If one leads into the light it is equally certain the other leads to darkness.' . . . leading the missionary to the corner of the veranda, whence a street road led to the town, the chief Hausa said: 'We love you for the words you tell us; it is as though you stood here on a height and saw the straight road, and watched all of us wandering in the long grass on either side and you shout to us, saying: "Turn back! Turn back! You are straying from the path; there it is leading straight to the town!" Thus you are doing to us every day.' "[32]

He will not, if he can help it, let any single issue be settled on its own merits. He will try to link up their interests in economic acquisitions, in Christian status, in right conduct, or in other-worldly protection which are involved in any issue, with as much of the whole complex of interests envisaged in Christian mores, as he can. He will try to link up the unsatisfactory elements in their milieu with still others less promising than his own, for instance, by showing dire results which will come from them. He will make a big issue out of an apparently small one, tracing the unsatisfactory act to an implicit philosophy of life. He will force to the front the question of Christianity whenever behavior contrary to any of its mores gives him a good opportunity. Whatever else he does, he will prevent a solution of the immediate issue without a solution of the issue of Christianity as a whole. To him it is futile to decide what he regards as subsidiary issues without deciding the all-important one.

This does not mean that all of the new customs must be firmly established as habits before a resolution of the conflict will be encouraged. In the nature of the case, that would be impossible. It does mean, usually, that the bold contrasts must be eased off, that outstanding practices revolting to sentiments in the Christian mores must be curtailed. The acceptable candidate does not steal, or have polygamous relations. It means that the non-Christians must assume a generally submissive role, a willingness or eagerness to comply with the propagandist's demands in actions, beliefs, and sentiments with a confession of sin and repentance before the Christian group. In other words, the inferiority role is an essential factor to be maintained in the

convert-in-the-making as a part of the acceptance of the entire mores of the new group. If possible, the central Christian "truths" are required.

> ". . . .while care must be taken not to discourage enquirers even at this elementary stage [i.e., of 'low' motives], yet care must also be taken not to allow that half-truths can do duty for the whole, nor that the human soul can find a permanent resting-place short of the open confession of Christ as Saviour and Lord."[33]

If possible, indeed, the entire conversion experience should be "according to the doctrines of the gospel."* If possible, it should conform to the "pre-appointed type" which the mores of the propagandist have traditionalized and which the propagandist is supposed to build up in the novitiate's mind by preaching and instruction.† Yet it must include a submissive attitude toward the propagandist's norms, beliefs, and

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*A memorandum made in Occom's Diary reads:

"Saturday Sep. 16: Just after Dinner . . . a Conference meeting . . . they began by Prayer and sung, and they began to relate their Experiences, and there were 12 men and three women, that related the work of god on their souls and it took them till near Mid Night, and it was the most agreable meeting that ever I was at. there were several Nations and Denominations & yet all was harmonious. there was no Jar amongst them, but Peace and Love. there experiences were according to the Doctrines of the Gospel." Love, 259.

†"The conversions which Dr. Starbuck here [in his *Psychology of Religion*] has in mind are of course mainly those of very commonplace persons, kept true to a pre-appointed type by instruction, appeal, and example. The particular form which they affect is the result of suggestion and imitation. ([Foot note:—] No one understands this better than Jonathon Edwards understood it already. Conversion narratives of the more commonplace sort must always be taken with the allowances which he suggests: 'A rule received and established by common consent has a very great, though to many persons an insensible influence in forming their notions of the process of their own experience. I know very well how they proceed as to this matter, for I have had frequent opportunities of observing their conduct. Very often their experience at first appears a confused chaos, but then those parts are selected which bear the nearest resemblance to such particular steps as are insisted on; and these are dwelt upon in their thoughts, and spoken of from time to time, till they grow more and more conspicuous in their view, and other parts which are neglected grow more and more obscure. Thus what they have experienced is insensibly strained, so as to bring it to an exact conformity to the scheme already established in their minds. And it becomes natural also for ministers, who have to deal with those who insist upon distinctness and clearness of method, to do so too.'—*Treatise on Religious Affections.*) If they went through their growth-crisis in other faiths and other countries, although the essence of the change would be the same (since it is one in the main so inevitable), its accidents would be different. In Catholic minds, for example, and in our own Episcopalian sects, no such anxiety and conviction of sin is usual as in sects that encourage revivals." James, (A), 199-200.

group organization, whether or not there is a rough general conformity or a specific confessed consciousness of sins.

2. THE NON-CHRISTIAN GROUPS' INFLUENCE IN THE TRANSITION PROCESS

An outstanding force tending to prevent the Christian church's program for this period from going through, is represented in the various antithetical groups, which, of course, are non-Christian. Those groups are the permanent carriers of the interests holding out against the new Christian interests. They are the source of general protective protests opposing the acceptance of Christianity as a great complex of elements disturbing to the social milieu. Precisely how, then, do these groups function in the behavior and minds of those experiencing the conflicts?

One obvious way of determining their effect is to *expand the study made in Chapter II* of the correlations between different types of group organization and individuals' reactions. *Subsidiary to this is the investigation of how far the persons going through the transition, and especially a conflict-transition, can be found reacting consciously or unconsciously to what-the-group-thinks-about-this, how-the-group-feels-about-me, what-the-group-will-do-about-any-action- I-take.*

A great deal of the data on non-approval is apropos of such categories because most non-Christians' attempts to affiliate themselves with Christianity are opposed by their fellows. Sundar Singh could not get away from apprehensions on this score. His father tried to persuade him with promises of position and wealth; his uncle threatened his life if he disgraced the family by becoming a Christian; his mother implored him with tears not to cast himself away and break her heart. Such stories, familiar enough among converts from the higher castes of Hinduism or from Islam, are heard among less highly organized groups also.

> "I began to be convinced," says Hari Ramachandra Khisti, "that there could be only one God. . . .Although my faith in

idolatry was shaken, I still worshipped idols for *fear of my friends.* Through study and talks with the missionaries, by the great mercy of God, I became convinced that the Christian Shastra was the true one.

"In a tour through the district I saw many mendicant Brahmins, and had discussions with them. My eyes were opened, and I was convinced of the folly and deceit practised by them, and of the utter uselessness of pilgrimages and bathings to take away sin. . . ."[34] (*Italics ours.*)

"In not a few cases the relapse is occasioned by fear of consequences when the open confession is made. [Male; conversion age, 18:] 'When I went home after the meeting at which I surrendered to Christ, I told no one of it. I was then the only surviving son of my father and he was old. I thought he would die of grief if he knew that his only son had become a Christian. I also feared that he might possibly disinherit me; and if he did so how was I to get an education? . . . .I had no courage; but I kept on reading my Bible and praying in my own room. A week later a Christian fellow-student came to congratulate me on my decision to become a Christian. "I was there," he said, "in the tent of Dr. P——— when you rose and walked to the platform." "Who is Dr. P———" said I; "I do not know him. I never attended any such meeting, nor did I do any such thing as you say.' "[35]

But particularly where the non-Christian group from which a pre-convert comes is highly organized, these protests become elements in the individual's transition conflict. The evidence shows that they are automatically taken over into the inner forum of the individual's mind, as Professor Meade* calls it, and there rehearsed, reckoned with, replied to, disposed of.

If the individual is a Japanese immigrant to Formosa, or a Chinese immigrant to Malaysia, the influence of the home groups is attenuated and presented to his mind with less intensity and vividness. If he is a Korean villager, his family or community which usually regards Christian missions with favor, will not

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*"Our whole so-called inner life results from the carrying within ourselves of the social process. We import the social process of conversation and of mutual influence into the inner subjective world, in which we have that kinaesthetic idea of being the imitator in the social process. When we put ourselves in the place of another, that self belongs to the inner life." Meade, 88.

oppose strongly anyhow. If he is a child in a Christian home, the group's opposition in the sense we have been discussing it drops out almost completely. It may survive in a boy's gang and its attitude, or in some lesser group of which the individual is a member. In short, much depends on the protective technique of indigenous or opposing groups, or the degree to which the individual is envisaged in a highly organized, indigenous, non-approving group, as was indicated in Chapter II and Chapter VII.

That the actual success of the new group's influence is everywhere conditioned by the effectiveness of the old group's general influence and *specific protective technique*, should be obvious. A great deal of the data on individual non-approval and group measures of defence and competition, with the interpretation of it we have suggested, certainly indicates this. We must bear in mind the great variety of the technique. The full import of single protective devices is not always popularly recognized, as our examination, in Appendix II and Chapter VII, of the actual causes of non-approval, indicated. Quietly but cleverly certain non-Christian groups offset even the propagandic capitalizing of the sense of inferiority:

If in a given case Moslems can get in a determining influence over a certain individual before the propagandist and his technique have induced in him a special consciousness of sin-toward-the-Christian-God, it is evident that they may be instrumental in keeping him out of the propagandist's hands. They may be able to influence him to make his adjustment by a complete return to the old group as a staunch supporter, by a return to it as a reformer, or even by attachment to a compromise reform sect. If they do not exert the pressure until after the consciousness of sin-before-the-Christian-God is produced, the case is more desperate because of the great comparative excellence of the propagandist's technique for maintaining that inferiority attitude once it is produced, and for overcoming it by their own solution. We have seen how certain Mohammedan priests, apparently recognizing this, astutely offset the feeling of their followers that

the beneficent missionary doctor and teacher is superior and that the Moslem is therefore under obligation to take a learner's submissive attitude toward them: they tell their followers that Allah has decreed that Christians should do menial service for Moslems, but that it is not for Moslems to do. An Oriental apologetic indeed. On the other hand, the experience of the intellectual Hindu, Nehemiah Goreh, shows a pressure exerted too late by the non-Christian group, a pressure that results in reverse or contrary suggestion.

> When the friends of Goreh derided Christianity, and his father told him, acutely wrought up over his religious problems and obligations, that everything was Maya, illusion, and it didn't matter whether Christianity were true or false, Goreh felt a repulsion toward them and was driven further toward Christianity. However, under their reproaches he did try to go deeper into the worship of the Hindu gods in order to give them a full test. Doing so only threw him back further still toward Christianity.[36]

A group's conserving influence is not confined to occasions where it makes an overt demonstration or issues verbal statements, as we have seen in our discussion of professed causes of non-approval used as protective devices. Aside from all deliberate protective devices, it *operates by force of the satisfactory interests it supplies along any variety of lines.* That is, by the general security which the individual either vaguely or explicitly sees that it offers. The familiar need-satisfiers are the things contrasted in the individual's mind or experience to the need-satisfiers extended to him by the Christian group.

> Mrs. Ma hears that the Christian god is "the giver of houses and clothes and food," and says to herself that her group's idols "never promised that."
>
> Uchimura contrasts them in still broader aspects:
>
> "Christianity was an enjoyable thing to me so long as I was not asked to accept it. Its music, its stories, the kindness shown me by its followers, pleased me immensely. But five years after, when it was formally presented to me to accept, with certain stringent laws to keep and much sacrifice to make, my whole nature revolted against submitting myself to such a course. That I must set aside one day out of seven specially for religious

purpose, wherein I must keep myself from all my other studies and enjoyments, was a sacrifice which I thought next to impossible to make. And it was not flesh alone which revolted against accepting the new faith. I early learned to honor my nation above all others, and to worship my nation's gods and no others. I thought I could not be forced even by death itself to vow my allegiance to any other gods than my country's. I should be a traitor to my country, and an apostate from my national faith by accepting a faith which is exotic in its origin. All my noble ambitions which had been built upon my former conceptions of duty and patriotism were to be demolished by such an overture."[37]

At times this conflict of interests is even more intense.

Shee's great-grandfather was of the literary class and among his relatives were city elders and officials. He himself had little schooling, being compelled through family misfortune to work on a farm from boyhood. He used opium. Gradually he became a professional story-teller. While at this occupation he learned about Christianity.

". . . .At first, however, he had very crude conceptions of the message. He looked upon Jesus as a great wonder-worker, and spoke of him as the great western conjurer. The stories of the four gospels he incorporated with his own. They were new and novel, and he used his liberty to modify and adapt them."

Finally he became attracted by a preacher, Chen, "who denounced sin, and demanded faith and repentance. Shee knew that Chen loved him, but he was of a proud spirit and became openly hostile. These questions occurred to him: Is this a new religion? What about ancestor worship? Was not this doctrine introduced by the 'foreign devils' who had invaded Chinese life and society?

"He went to the priests but got no peace of mind. And then to the scholars, but they only talked philosophy. . . .he was being moved into the religion he so bitterly opposed. His old stories were losing their hold on him. The new story was taking hold of his inner life. . . .Chen never lost sight of him, in prayer or in life. . . ."

Shee had been trying to overcome his craving for opium. The conflict became unbearable: a crisis was reached. "He says that in the last awful struggle he closed with his demon enemy in the arms of death. For seven days and nights, in burning hunger, thirst, weariness and excruciating pain, he was pleading with God in prayer. He found he had an added strength.

> At last the Lord gave deliverance, the light broke in, and the captive of years was free.
>
> "From that day he grew in grace, knowledge and power." He became baptized. He visited his old haunts telling the mission group's version of the gospel story. Indeed, he became an evangelist. "He has the unreserved confidence of the whole church, native and foreign."[38]

In practically every instance the individual's reaction seems to depend in some part upon the functioning of the different groups' interests in the individual's life process—although, as we shall see presently, the force of a psychological suggestion may lead him to ignore them at certain times. It is only convert biographies with full accounts of interests, of changes, and of conflicts that can show precisely how the indigenous group exercises an influence in the individual's transition from approval to candidacy.

Of course the old threatened interests, we should not forget, have to be disposed of, if the new interests are to dominate the situation. (This is not always easy to observe because only part of any transition is conscious; in fact, only part of any conflict may be conscious, as Prince, Healey, and others show. Only one fact is certain at the beginning, in any specific case: that is, that the coming up into consciousness of problems which were not issues previously, is the result of some fresh interests getting a hold as satisfiers. That is the inner cause—the problems are the outer symptoms. Treatment by answering the problems didactically, may in some cases be treatment of primary causes, but it is liable to be treatment of secondary explanations instead, as we have seen in noting the relation of professed to actual causes in non-approval.) The main thing from the propagandist's viewpoint is maintaining the new bio-psychological interests that have taken hold and that threaten the supremacy of the old interests; and those new interests, the propagandist's technique is bent on making into a permanent channel for larger auxiliary injections into the need-securing-satisfaction process of the subject. Non-Christian and opposing groups and the force of habitual satisfactions through previous interests, on the other

hand, militate against control by the innovators and make for a solution of the problems which will not bind the individual over to the mores and influence of the alien group.

3. THE DIFFERENT OPTIONS OPEN TO THE INDIVIDUAL AS RELATED TO THESE DIVERGENT GROUPS

The appeal of the new group, the tug of the old group (and the qualifying of their influences by the individual's psyche and the objective circumstances)—these are shown in any full account of a pre-convert's hesitancy or conflict, not to speak of the experience of non-converts. They are significant for us now only *as they impel a pre-convert toward different solutions* of the problem facing him.

"'In the first place, I acknowledge my great fault in still remaining in heathenism after being convinced of the truth of Christianity. I am almost ashamed to state the reason of this. I am not yet prepared to withstand and to suffer the persecutions and trials which a true believer in Christ has to undergo in India when he confesses his Master before his countrymen. Oh, may He grant me the boldness that Luther had at Worms! May He give me His Spirit and encourage me to say, "Here I stand; I can do nothing else. So help me God." . . . .

" 'It is true that the love of my parents and family sometimes overcomes me and makes me forget my resolution, but again the burden of my sins and the fear of a sinner's doom in a future life greatly trouble me. Thus there is a constant struggle in my mind between the desires of this life and the hopes of a future one. . . .' "

"My poor father was greatly affected by these continued complaints from his friends. He once, in great agony, declared to me before my mother and brothers, that if I submitted to the rite of baptism, he and all the rest in the house would drown themselves in the river.

"I was in terrible perplexity. I did not know what to do. I knew it was my duty to be faithful and loyal to my Saviour and to take His yoke upon me publicly by receiving baptism, as He had commanded; but the difficulties in my way overwhelmed me."

" '. . . .Mark how I am reviled by the people! They laugh me to scorn. They misunderstand and misrepresent my purest motives and my most laudable desires. O God, I trust in the

shadow of thy wings alone. When wilt Thou, in Thy mercy visit me? . . . .'

"I have a letter which I wrote at this time. . . .: 'I have been striving hard for the last two years . . .to give up the world for Christ. . . .Although I have many of the comforts of this life, I do not find any satisfaction in them; and during the past twelve months this has been strongly felt by me. The burden of my sin which presses me, and the terrors of the second death have extinguished completely the love of the pleasures of life in my mind. I am always gloomy and sad, . . .'

. . . . . .

"The critical moment, so long delayed, at last arrived, and I had to decide forthwith. I was asked to engage in certain religious rites, which could not be performed according to Hindu usage except by myself. It was a festive occasion. . . .

"I passed the night in great agony. I prayed; I wept. The Spirit of God suggested such helpful passages of Scripture to my mind as Luke XIV: 16-24, and the words, 'I have married a wife, and therefore I cannot come,' impressed me most deeply. I feared I should share the fate of the unfortunate man of whom it was declared, 'None of these men who were bidden shall taste of my supper.' I there and then resolved that I would accept my Saviour at once. Then I found rest and peace."[39]

The indigenous religious influences are just as significant in the following case,—significant because they are weak and hence release the individual easier:

The first people of Japan to become interested in Protestant Christianity in any numbers, seem to have been from the samurai who were being instructed by missionaries in " 'Western languages, sciences and arts. Some of those who have been or are now studying English are in the habit of going daily to the missionaries' houses, in groups of from two to three to six or seven, to read the English Bible, preferring this to the study of schoolbooks. These intelligent young men frequently express their earnest desire that the day may soon come when all their countrymen shall have the Holy Scriptures and the free political institutions of which they are the basis. *They despise the Buddhist and the Buddhist priest.*' " [Italics ours.] [We are told elsewhere, also, that the early inquirers regarded religion as necessary to a nation's prosperity.][40]

The Christian group has one and one only pattern for the solution of perplexities, as we have seen repeatedly. It assures

the subject that its solution will ultimately yield him the highest satisfactions life can offer—but of course this may mean little to him. The opposing group, if it is a simpler-culture group which has had no previous experience with exclusive and propagandic religions like Christianty—as for example a New Hebrides tribe—may be ready to make no response but that of attack: it says to the perplexed man, "Follow the ways of the tribe or pay the penalties we exact." These were the tactics of the priests and inland tribes of Tanna Island. The complex-culture groups like those of Islam and Hinduism do the same, but show more variety in their devices, using clever apologetic and resourceful methods of preventing their members from joining the outside group. *Whichever non-Christian group one is in, its terms and the Christian group's terms have usually formed the chief alternatives before him.* The average pre-convert may go through the most intense struggle without even considering the possibility of any original solution aside from these two sets of solutions. This is of far-reaching importance. Proof of the tendency lies in the regularity with which a third course of behavior, not to speak of a fourth or fifth, is undiscoverable in a great many records.

Some parts of the great complex-culture groups, on the other hand, may be flexible enough to adopt the Christian doctrine of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man and take it into their body of beliefs; they may even adopt reforms of educational, social, and religious import and incorporate others of the new interests into the old group's mores. Ample illustration of this was observed in non-Christian groups that opposed Christianity with competitive and imitative devices. By making these compromises or these additions, communities are in a position to offer many a restless man a solution of his problems within the old milieu. Yet it is not really the old group that makes these concessions: it is only certain members of it, and to do so they have to break off from the main group and start what amounts to a heretical branch, frequently disowned and bitterly opposed by the parent group. The reform faction, the Brahma

Somaj or what not, is thrust out of Hinduism or of Islam proper and becomes an intermediate group between Christianity and Hinduism, or between Islam and Christianity. *With the expulsion of these compromise groups from the great block of Hinduism or Islam, a totally new set of options is presented to the inquirers.* They do not have to enter a Christian group to satisfy certain of their newer interests any longer. They can do so in a compromise group, in a reform group. It has made a synthesis of the new interests and the old, adjusting what appeared to its leaders as the most salient points of conflict and preserving what they regard as the vital elements of the old with the desirable elements of the new. To members of the conservative block reaching out toward certain interests of the Christian group, it provides a ready-made solution of an inescapable conflict.

> "Some of those who were uneasy at heart found for a time a half-way house in reform movements that have sprung up over the land during the last century.
>
> "G. C. Dass, for instance, says, 'Gradually my faith in Hinduism was entirely destroyed, and I naturally tried to find a religion that would teach of one God and that I could follow without losing caste or being driven out of Hindu society. I studied the Bible, Bhagavad Gita, Vedanta, and attended Brahmo Samaj services. At first the Brahmo Samaj seemed to satisfy me as it spoke of the worship of one God and that He would receive us if we repented and confessed him.'
>
> "Abbas Ali, a Bengali Muhammadan in the course of his seeking for heart rest, actually joined a Hindu Reform Society, a most unusual proceeding. . . ."[41]

Note that we have before us two situations, *the primitive group with no third solution considered*, and more complex culture groups with an intermediary one probably at hand. The fact underlying this difference is that in certain group situations, a compromise group is out of the question. Variation and criticism must first be tolerated in society at large. Or, men must conceive of the different aspects of their culture (e.g., the religious aspect) separately, apart from the rest. In such a stage of society, when different types of a certain cultural feature (e.g., religion) come in contact with one another, discussion is

precipitated and that cultural feature is considered more or less objectively per se; e. g., where Hinduism and Islam, let us say, or Buddhism and Christianity, are more or less discussed among the educated elders and in schools for adolescents, religion per se becomes a subject of criticism and question. It is in such a situation that an intermediary group arises. These preconditions we find in Europe and Asia, but not in primitive groups. The primitive, because he does not think of religious affairs per se, does not distinguish between the church and the state, as Marett puts it. He has no reformed group to go to. He must go to the new group to satisfy his new interests if they affect his general matrix of mores in any very material way.

> "A change of religion would be a momentous rupture with the carefully guarded tradition, unless one at the same time attached himself to the people whose religion he adopted; in that case one would enter into the traditions of that people, would be under obligation to venerate its institutions, would accept its protecting deities as his own, and would thereby be protected against the wrath of his own national gods, that is, his ancestors. A change of religion is like the fate of a slave who changes his master. The new master into whose family and tribe he enters, undertakes to protect him. But everything in the heathen resists such a step."[42] (Warneck)

> "For the Romans of the Empire every foreign religion had an attraction because it was foreign, but for the heathen every foreign religion is repellent for the same reason. To accept the religion of another nation one must become a member of that nation. That only happens to those sold as slaves to a foreign nation; these have lost their nationality; they have exchanged it for that of their masters. All religious matters are decided by the nation to which one belongs. And now comes a man of foreign nationality with new unintelligible customs; he praises his strange religion as the only true religion, and declares that this religion is better for brown and black people than even their own. The natives will mostly reason thus: to adopt this new religion we must become Europeans."[43] (*Ibid.*)

The next stage above the primitive is that in which religion per se is differentiated and the option is between two religions either of which, theoretically and formally speaking, the individual may

appropriate while retaining his other mores more or less intact. The situation in India in the early nineteenth century and that in Japan in the sixties and seventies illustrates this vividly. *A third stage* is that in which refuge is taken in intermediate or compromise religious groups.

But in both India and Japan still another group soon appeared among the college students and thinking men who were tossed about by religious doubts—*the atheists and agnostics* as they called themselves after the Western writers from whom they took their cue.

> ". . . .So long ago as 1828, or a full decade before the birth of Kali Charan, Rammohan Roy had laid the foundations of the Brahmo Somaj; but from the time of his death in 1833 until 1841 it had gained but little influence. During the period, therefore, when many converts to Christianity were gathering about the Scottish missionaries in Calcutta, it is to be remembered that before them there were but three alternatives: Old Hinduism, Christianity or Atheism. As the years passed, many 'half-way houses' between the older faith of their fathers and the full acceptance of Christ were established. . . .This is in itself sufficient to account for the fact that in more recent years comparatively few college students have been found to pass at one step from the older form of faith into the full acceptance of Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord."[44]

The leap from religious systems to those systems that denied religion was one recognized as the most radical by many.

> Referring to Wakasa and Ayabe, nobility of Japan among the earliest converts, Verbeck says: "Like perhaps most of the higher classes in this country, they had no faith in Buddhism, the religion of the common people, while at the same time they were graciously withheld from falling into the opposite of a total atheism. Their minds were in a state of expectant transition when, just in time, they were led to search for and find salvation through faith in Christ."[45]

Renouncing the authority of a definite schema of norms and ignoring uncertainty as to any other-wordly or after-life estate, seemed to require an independence, self-determination, and revamping of immediate values for which few were prepared. In the grip of developed self-protective and other tendencies which

religious interests had been satisfying, and unable to supply a complete enough substitute, some non-Christians tried to take the leap from their non-Christian religion to agnosticism or atheism and then had to fall back again on a religion.

> "A number of converts to Christ from among the Bengali Brahmans have come through a period of agnosticism and even atheism, owing to the strong deistic influences that were present in Calcutta during the greater part of the nineteenth century. The two following cases are instances of this." [The writer then takes up the experience of Krishna Mohun Banerji and of G. C. Bose.][46]

It is taken for granted that with the higher education of large numbers of Orientals in science and Western philosophy and literature, with the inrush of all sorts of religious beliefs, and with the multiplication of social groups in Oriental city life—that under such conditions *new intermediate systems* have arisen to give the individual much greater latitude. Nevertheless, taking the pre-converts as a whole, most of them are not exposed to any such conditions. Even if they were, the point of view thus far developed in this section—which is largely in accordance with the actual sequence of events—provides an indispensable approach to interpretation.

But why, some one may ask, are we regarding the individual as a victim of these different groups? Does he not stand on his own feet as an individual? Does he not make a decision, devise a resolution of the conflict, modify the group patterns for its resolution, so as to preserve for himself the interests which meet his needs regardless of the different groups which originally called them to his attention? The only specific way of answering these questions is to take up typical cases of transition or a great number of individual cases, and to see whether or not the individual actually does consider resolutions of his own, syntheses he has worked out which are not the resolutions of any group. The types we have examined in concrete instances have for the most part not done so. They have adopted a group solution. They have come over to Christianity in mass movements of their

groups. Or else by themselves they have jumped from a non-Christian to a Christian or intermediate group.

It is assumed that when a given individual acts outwardly with one of these groups, his ideas, his sentiments, and the form and intensity of his action must vary somewhat from those of every other man in his group. Absolute group uniformity is out of the question. His peculiar capacities and stock of experience make this inevitable. Yet he conforms enough to satisfy his self-regard, his need for referring his conduct to his associates and to their recognition and approval. Only once in a long while in a society of a few fixed groups such as one found in the Orient of the early nineteenth century does a Ram Mohan Roy, a Dayanand, a Ramakrishna, arise who refuses to let any given group's approval determine his choices and who with the aid of pregnant forces about him, makes his own synthesis of interests. Such a man draws followers to himself if the situation is ripe. He is the independent type of a person—if others are ready to follow, he may become the organizer of a new group. This combination of creativeness and initiative is usually accompanied by an imagination that will allow him to picture within his mind some present or future group of approvers. The general prevalence of such men concrete data alone can disclose.

In the meantime there are other ways in which *the effect of a group's pattern for the solution of a conflict, is modified:* for example, *by the extent to which it is concretely envisaged.* Now the non-Christian group's pattern is plain. The non-Christian has known it all his life. The only question comes with reference to the Christian pattern and what it involves, or with reference to a new pattern apart from these two. In the discussion of possible attracting interests and in that on Mass Movements, this element of concreteness was referred to with illustrations under the terms practicalness, feasibility, evident advantage. The question there was the obviousness of the Christian solution as over against the non-Christian. But where an intermediate group is available, it presents still another concrete alternative. Those in the midst of a conflict who do not see how they can retain their

new interests within the old group, have now an option between either a Christian or an intermediate group. And an important question is, Which seems more practical and satisfactory? Which shows evidence that it works out best?

Now when the Christian community is well developed there is ample evidence of the kind of thing the Christian resolution of their conflict will result in. They can see in the dwellings, clothing, degree of prosperity, habits and attitudes of the Christian group, and in the Christian ceremonies and rules of conduct, what it will involve. With these patterns before them they can easily imagine their living under these same conditions; they can imaginatively re-construct themselves responding to the old and new elements in their environment from this new situation; they can do this until they have built an entirely new prospective role for themselves that makes the actual taking of the overt step much easier.* (Far more difficult is it for the first convert. He must make a mental construct by means of Biblical stories, the propagandist's description of the peace and joy of the saved, etc., if he has an active imagination: otherwise it is difficult to get much preparatory aid from considering the probable end-result or *fait accompli* of his actions. It is true that many men act under their own or others' suggestions with only slight attention to possible consequences, and examine their new circumstances afterwards; but the imaginative element should not be overlooked regardless of how abbreviated it may be in the ordinary man.)

Because novel conceptions are usually so dependent upon present or past objective reality, the group pattern cannot easily be considered by the individual as a probable resolution

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*One "builds up a new situation and then builds up a new self over against it. . . .

". . . When the situation has been definitely put before us there arise suggestions as to what we can do. . . . The idea of our possible conduct appears essentially as an hypothesis, a plan of action. . . .

"Then he must present himself, for example, as supporting the party and also meeting the group opposed to the offensive plank. Then arises a gradual reconstruction of the self which is going to act this way, harmonizing the two things. It comes through trying it on." Meade, 91a-93a.

for a conflict unless it is envisaged in a definite community life.

"Sometimes. . . they [the natives in the vicinity of Onitsha] betrayed great caution, and made many curious comments upon the new teaching. At one service one of the chiefs was present, and after an ejaculatory petition, the minister asked what he thought of it all. The old half-enlightened heathen gave answer in an idiom: 'A new fowl when brought into the yard walks gently and looks steadily on the old ones, to see what they do.' "[47]

Crowther says with regard to a Yoruba fellow-countryman: "One man, an Ifa priest, spoke very sensibly. 'Softly you must go with us,' was his first answer, 'or you will spoil the whole matter: stretch the bow too much and it will break. Remember how deeply we are rooted in heathenism. We cannot get out of it all at once.' I thought and said: 'If you would even make a beginning at once on the "new road," as they call it, you would still leave us scope enough to exercise patience.' His answer was: 'Some time ago, in a conversation with your servants, I was, among other things, told that a man who serves God could no more steal, no more deceive, no more commit adultery. These words we have as we remember, but our eyes are watching your hands also, to see what they do. Only have a little patience. After some time we shall see if the works of your hands agree with the words of your mouth; then we shall consider again if this new way will suit us also.' "[48]

"In India where the whole social life is entwined with caste rules, it seems impossible to the undecided enquirer to live at all after breaking and losing caste. In his old life he sees order, however imperfect; in the new Christian life he can only discern disorder and desolation. It is the well-organized Christian community which shows him that not only an organized life, but even a social life of a higher type is possible through obedience to the Gospel. The native congregation is the object-lesson, read and understood by the non-Christians, as to what Christianity really means."[49]

"The greatest success of Christian missions is attained amongst aboriginal tribes such as the Khasis of Assam, the Mundas and Oraons of Chota Nagpur, and the Karens of Burma, whose beliefs are of the undefined Animistic type and who, being outside of the caste system, are not, on conversion, so completely cut off from their relations and friends. In the case of Hindus, Mr. Blunt [Sup. of the Census in the United Provinces] points out

that the main obstacle to the success of the missionary propaganda is the fear of social ostracism. The high caste convert has literally to lose all if he is to follow Christ. The low caste convert has much less to lose, while he gains materially in the facilities for education, assistance in getting employment and the like; and he can drop his despised caste designation. The great majority of the converts from Hinduism belong to the lowest castes, such as the Chuhras of the Punjab, the Mahars of the Central Provinces and Berar and the Shanans of Madras, to whom conversion means an accession of respectability as well as a cleaner and purer life. The social difficulty is growing less with increasing number of Christians; for though a convert from Hinduism or Islam is still turned out of his original community, he has another into which he is received. The converts, as their numbers increase, find the loss of caste rights easier to bear."[50]

"Mr. Knox's method of evangelising his district was not merely to travel over it as much as possible, and preach in the towns and villages, but to have a catechist and a mission school in as many places as possible. In this way, through the daily preaching of the catechist, and through the regular Scripture reading in the school, the people are instructed much more thoroughly than they could be by an occasional visit. . . .

". . . .What attaches every Hindu, and even the lowest pariah, to his caste, is that it is his only protection against a sea of troubles; it is his nation, his clan, his trades union. Outside his caste, all men are alien to him; within it alone he can look for sympathy, brotherhood and protection. He clings to it as a sailor to his ship; as a soldier, while in an enemy's country, to his regiment.

"The hardest trial, therefore, that a man, whatever be his social position, has to face in becoming a Christian, is the being made to stand entirely alone without friends or sympathisers, if not his hand against every one, at least every man's hand against him. When, however, he sees a Christian community already existing, in joining it he is, in an important sense, but exchanging one caste, one clan or tribe, for another."[51]

A word should be added about the *implications of this principle* (p. 434 ff.) *for various subsidiary activities of the propagandists.* In famine relief and other philanthropies, in medical aid, in English education, the option of the indigenous population in contact with missions was at first an option between only two

sources of aid. And in financial help, medical science, and proficiency in English there is no question but that mission equipment was the superior of the two, as leading non-Christians regretfully admit. And though the initial response of approval and approach necessary to secure relief from these agencies, may be suspended immediately afterward, missionaries use these initial contacts as opportunities for ingratiation and preaching, so far as it is feasible—sometimes producing direct conversion through them; and the mission group "follows up" relief efforts wherever possible. Orphan institutions and the schools, moreover, are agencies that spread out this transition manipulative technique over a long period. But the intermediate groups are arriving.

> "The popular movement for an education associated with religion is seen in the increased number and efficiency of the aided schools springing up under Indian management for Hindus, Mohammedans, and Buddhists. Mrs. Besant's educational work is a factor in the situation with the great central Hindu College at Benares, and the many schools for non-Christian girls conducted on Indian lines in different centres. The Arya Samaj has schools varying much in educational efficiency, but the best are distinctly good. Whereas a few years ago the choice for parents lay between a Government school and a mission school, in many large towns there are now schools for boys and often for girls, where children are taught their own religion, or at least come under the personal influence of teachers of their own religion. This is likely to be the case increasingly in all the great centers of population."[52]

The different options that have been discussed as open to the individual under the fire of propaganda, are mainly those before one in a non-Christian milieu. Purposely in this volume we are not reaching over into the second generation of Christians nurtured in the convert group. It is, nevertheless, pertinent to note that, as we should expect from the group influences we have been examining, the effect of *being brought up in a group that is not averse to Christianity seems to reduce sharply*—other things being equal—*the group contrasts*, and the degree of conflict produced by these contrasts.

> "The further question was asked whether there was at the time of decision the consciousness of a great change, and affirmative replies to this were few. Among those who came to Christ from the non-Christian world, the consciousness of change was forced upon them by outward conditions. But among those of the Christian community, only thirteen out of 150 speak of this! . . . ."[53]

In *conclusion*, it should be noted in what ways the present chapter has supplemented the account in the preceding one. In the first place, we saw there *an individual or group from the simpler culture peoples deciding to take the singular step of adopting an alien set of mores, not because he or the group comprehended them in toto, but because in certain points they seemed superior to the indigenous mores conflicting with them.* Here we have seen how this action *is related to the meagre options before the individual or group, options presented by other impinging groups which refuse to allow modifications of their "unified" cultural systems.*

(The precise psychological process which results in the adoption of the Christian "patterns," will be taken up further in the next chapter.)

With some insight into the restricted options before the simpler culture peoples, therefore, the wholesale adoption of Christianity in mass movements takes on a rationality which even the solidarity of tribe and caste did not give to it.

It is the emotional conflict cases, however, which show the most clear-cut dependence upon patterns of behavior held forth by opposing groups. Conservative indigenous group, Christian group, sometimes a reform or an "agnostic" or an "individualistic" group bids for the loyalty of the individual non-Christian—*each with an ego-centricism characteristic of the very nature of the highly organized social group, each with complete indifference to the individual's developing as an independent personality.* Such a conclusion may be taking us beyond the statements of the chapter itself, but not beyond their implications.

It remains to be seen wherein the closer analysis of the next chapter corroborates these processes and carries them further.

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CHAPTER XIII

DECIDING FOR CANDIDACY—*concluded*: THE ROLE OF SUGGESTION

The individual or group considering candidacy for Christian church membership is under a cross-fire of influences. It is this contest of different groups over him which Chapter XII treated. Chapters V and VI furnish the background for the influences tending to keep him away from the mission church; Chapters IX and X, the background for the influences tending to draw him toward it.

Complementing this view of the forces tugging the pre-convert in opposite directions, Chapter XI exhibited certain gross aspects of the decision experience to which those forces contribute—the presence or absence of emotional conflict, the comprehension of the system of mores he is adopting, and the suddenness or gradualness of the experience.

From the point of view of the present chapter, one of the most instructive ways of looking at the cross fire of the disapproving and approving influences playing upon the pre-convert, is to regard them as streams of suggestion jetting upon him continually. Similarly, one of the most instructive facts about the sudden decisions to adopt Christianity, the failure to examine it thoroughly beforehand, and the cases of emotional conflict, not to speak of other types, is the power of suggestion.* In the closer examination of data on the psychology of this transition stage, moreover, this factor has loomed so large that we are giving almost an entire chapter to it.

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*On account of popular misconceptions of suggestion, we would remind the reader of Thorndike's statement: "It is. . . .my contention. . . .that an idea does not evoke the act which is like it, but the act which has followed it without annoyance. . . .that successful suggestion toward an act consists in arousing, not the state of mind which is like that act, but the one which that act follows by instinct or habit, and in preventing from being aroused the state of mind or body which some contrary act so follows." Thorndike, (A), 292.

From our standpoint, suggestion must be regarded merely as the means through which external forces and internal imaginings and conditions become stimuli and evoke definite reactions.

Since the functioning of suggestion has been under scrutiny by psychologists and psychotherapists for some years, it is well to bear in mind certain general conclusions of theirs, before proceeding to the study of concrete cases. Other things being equal, a suggestion takes effect, they say, according to its priority in (1) definiteness and precision, (2) forcefulness and intensity, (3) frequency and recency, and, growing out of these three, (4) monopoly of the subject's attention.[1] Where suggestion comes from an object that is observed or heard, it is obvious that the laws of sense perception and of attention* condition it (facilitate or retard it)—for example, we shall find the suggestions from alien mores facilitated by the way in which their novelty holds the subject's attention. Where suggestion comes through the imagination, the susceptibilities of the individual to such phenomena as dreams and visions will have effect. The laws of association condition every mental process, naturally. "Other things being equal" as used above, furthermore, is a phrase setting aside the question of *the relevancy of the immediate suggestion to its "setting"*—e.g., to the particular situation into which it comes, to the specific past experiences or habits of the subject, to the different emotions and urges and interests-meeting-needs processes of the individual or group.

As we take up cases representing the different types of suggestion, there should be no doubt in our minds about the importance of the suggestion's "setting." If we are to evaluate any suggestion as an element in the transition stage from approving-the-propaganda to becoming-a-candidate-for-church-membership, we must keep in mind the relevancy both of the outward situation and of the subject's past experience and bio-psychological nature. For the fact is that all these forces are parts of any action. In the following instance, for example, the missionary's invitation that turns the tide of circumstances at the climax of a conflict of months' duration, has significance only because of

*On the conditions of "original attentiveness" *see* previous comments in Chapter III, 59-60, and Appendix II, p. 537, footnote ††.

[1] Goddard defines attention thus: "The stimulus arouses the consciousness and that consciousness is the attention." P. 77.

the previous circumstances and reactions of the Indian youth (as well as mere frequency and recency of certain elements in the background of the invitation):

> ". . . .Yet at the conclusion of the service, in spite of my firm resolution, which had been strengthened by the powerful discourse of the evening, I began to hesitate; the keeping away from home was so difficult. . . .Mr. Taylor who stood at the door, asked me, 'Are you coming?' I immediately answered 'Yes.' This good man was like the angel who appeared to Peter in prison and bade him follow him. I accompanied Mr. Taylor to his bungalow. Then I felt as if the load of sin and sorrow that oppressed me had suddenly dropped off, and unspeakable joy filled my heart. . . ."[2]

Moreover, it is only by recounting the whole gamut of suggestions which become effective stimuli from the inception of the conflict, and by recounting them in the light of the subject's interests-meeting-needs process, that we can explain any such ultimate behavior.* Until single elaborate studies can be made, we must be satisfied with the clues as to the effect of particular suggestions such as the one given in the case of the Indian lad. We recognize full well that at present we can only observe single suggestions, exceptionally stimulating suggestions, or suggestions at times of crises which give any approved suggestion the dis-

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*"The methods of education and therapeutic suggestion are variants of this mode of organizing mental processes. Both, in principle, are substantially the same, differing only in detail. They depend for their effect upon the implantation in the mind of ideational complexes organized by repetition, or by the impulsive force of their affective tones, or both. Every form of education necessarily involves the artificial formation of such complexes, whether in a pedagogical, religious, ethical, scientific, social or professional field. So in psychotherapy by artfully directed suggestion, or education in the narrower sense, complexes may be similarly formed and organized. New points of view and 'sentiments' may be inculcated, useful emotions and feelings excited, and the personality correspondingly modified. Roughly speaking, this is accomplished by suggesting ideas that will form 'settings' (associations) that give new and desired meanings to previously harmful ideas; and these ideas, as well as any others we desire to implant in the mind, are organized by suggestion with emotions (instincts) of a useful, pleasureable, and exalting kind to form desirable sentiments and to carry the ideas to fulfilment. Thus sentiments of right, or of ambition, or of sympathy, or of altruism, or of disinterestedness in self are awakened; and, with all this, opposing emotions are aroused to conflict with and repress the distressing ones, and the whole welded into a complex which becomes conserved neurographically and thereby a part of the personality." Prince, 288-289. See also his entire chapter.

proportionate character of a deciding vote.* But when we can discover these, such suggestions may shed light on the resolution of a conflict even when it is only one factor, just as the possible group solutions throw light on the character of the solution finally chosen even when they are modified by other factors.

1. THE ROLE OF DIRECT, INDIRECT, AND REVERSE SUGGESTION

Direct Suggestion Through Assertion, Dream, Event, etc.— In turning from these hints upon the general place of suggestion in the transition stage and upon the factors that affect suggestion as a psychological process, we take up the actual concrete interplay of influences which effect decision for church candidacy. Warneck and others claim, though not in these words, that the most successful way to develop the Christian reaction-systems in a people of rude culture, is the following: ignore affirmative evidence and its logical presentation, and even the disproof of non-Christian superstitious notions; monopolise attention with the new God-conception and Jesus-story until a condition of emotional rapport with them is secured; and, finally, bring to bear sufficient influences in conjunction with the new ideas, to produce the desired adjustments:—

> "It is impossible also to convince the Animistic heathen of the falseness of their religion, and of the truth of God's revelation, by means of logic and deductions of reason. Religious life is not produced by logical expositions, and religious errors are not conquered by enlightenment . . .nothing but inward religiousness, that is, a true relation to God, conquers superstition and false religious notions."[3]

Elsewhere the same writer declares that "one should bear in mind that it is not the moral point of view which strikes such

*We assume special suggestibility towards those whom one has granted prestige. See Ross, (D), 30. Cooley, (A), 290-293, 313-315.

But the background situation or setting into which a suggestion is injected is often misunderstood. For example, a man who protests vigorously against something is usually supposed to be immune from its influence. This is not true in all cases. In some, "The man who expresses abhorrence for a certain act is much nearer the possibility of such an act himself than is he who can view it undisturbed and with a judicial attitude of mind," claims White; "he therefore must summon all his reserves to escape it." (See White, A, 74.) A misunderstanding of psychological principles, as in this case, would lead to a total misinterpretation of the influence of certain suggestions. From the standpoint of the ordinary observer this merely means that it is important to note down steady persistent conditions and forces at work as well as exceptional occurrences, even tho their significance is not apparent to him.

> peoples, and brings about a change; but this is effected through a religious renovation which by and by makes them aware of their immoral state. Therefore moral renovation will always lag behind the religious change; that is to say, the moral conduct of the Christians may remain unsatisfactory for a long time, and yet we should not doubt the reality of their religious experience."[4]

Here is deliberate and continuous use of suggestion technique to substitute new stimulating interests in place of old ones already satisfying basic needs. The practice is especially familiar in "revival meetings": but there it is merely more condensed and intensive than usual and hence more effective in procuring the reactions from attendants at Christian rites and gatherings. (The recency, intensity, and monopoly which mark the new psychological complexes may have far more influence in such revivals than in many revival phenomena in the West where childhood memories are usually evoked.*)

Taking up the special types of data on which such writers seem to base their (religiously phrased) conclusions, we note prominent attention given to *definite, forceful assertions of a most dogmatic nature.* As to a setting, a prestige-of-the-unseen-spirits envelopes the speaker, his Book, and his utterance; it flows up from the spirit-world, from magico-religious beliefs so powerful in primitive-minded man's universe; it concerns the most dangerous and the most fortuitous forces he knows.

> "The Ten Commandments, with their definite 'thou shalt,' 'thou shalt not,' are impressive; the heathen hear in them the voice of God. In Sumatra and Nias we have often seen the deep impression which the Decalogue made, and the absolute approval it met."[5]

This semi-hypnotic method of securing rapport and consequent conformity in one or more ways, it is admitted, brings converts to Islam as well as to Christianity.

*In this connection it is interesting to note the contrasting statement that, "In Japan, the evangelistic campaigns, well suplemented by personal work, seem to have a special value. They are effective in bringing the will to a decision in the case of those who are under conviction, as the result of previous influences." *W.M.C.*, I, 300.

". . . .The answer which animistic heathens give to every deeper question is: 'We do not know.' They become conscious of their lack of certitude only when confronted with religious convictions differing from their own. The messenger of the Gospel comes to them with a definite announcement, some sure information about God and their relation to Him, about the origin and destiny of man, the life after death, good and evil. The preacher's certainty about things which the Animist assumes to be generally unknown is impressive to him. . . .

"The Mohammedan propaganda has also the benefit of this overmastering power of conviction. . . .Islam neither proves, nor persuades, nor disputes: it simply asserts, and what has heathen ignorance to oppose to such imperious certainty?

"The human soul has a craving for certainty regarding all that pertains to the supersensual world. . . .

"If the messenger of the Gospel, therefore, wishes to make any impression, he must himself have sure convictions. . . .Let him admit in his heart that Christianity is not the absolute truth, but only a good religion, the best, perhaps, existing, and his power is gone. Formally considered, his preaching will make no impression. . . .Speaking from his own experience, a missionary declares that 'preaching to the heathen must be very definite. The preacher must, at all times, be ready to lay down his life for what he preaches. No sermon will make any impression on hard heathen hearts that is not delivered with perfect assurance. I have always found that the form in which the prophets preached to the common people is the standard for preaching to the heathen. . . . .They stand forth as messengers of God with a, Thus said the Lord. . . .Preachers to the heathen should know that they are owned by God when they firmly believe in the words they preach.' Every foreign missionary will agree with that. . . . the certainty of the preacher communicates itself to the hearers.

. . . . . .

". . . .Certainty about the declared acts of God is never produced by proofs or disputations; it leaps up in the hearts of the hearers like the electric spark. The thing proclaimed lies in a region inaccessible to logical or historical proofs, on the further side of better understanding or want of understanding. The dogmatic form of presentation by a personal witness, confirmed by the suffering of that witness for the truth of what he says, has proved successful in every foreign mission-field, whether among civilized or uncivilized peoples. The lost wanderer must have the right way pointed out clearly, categorically. The positiveness of the guide gives him confidence, and

it removes uncertainty; he strikes into the direction pointed out, and never asks for proofs.

"This, I repeat, is a formal power of the Gospel. The spread of Mohammedanism and of grievous errors in the Christian Church proves that a false message, delivered with the certainty of conviction may be believed. . . .

. . . . . .

". . . .We should have expected the heathen to reject emphatically this offer of absolute truth as a thing unproved and unprovable. But that is not so. So long as the missionary is little known, such objections may be heard as, How do you know that your religion is from God? If you can raise the dead we will believe you. . . .Such sayings soon cease. The greater number treat the Gospel with indifference; some treat it with hostility: but it is not its claim to be revelation that gives offence. Those who have resolved to be hearers of the word, and who have confidence in its herald, find no difficulty in this idea of revelation. There is no need to demonstrate its probability or possibility, for no one doubts its reality. Something in the preached Gospel convinces the heathen of its divine origin. During my evangelistic work no heathen ever asked me how he was to know that the message was true and that it came from God. The heathen's attitude is one of simple assent or rejection."[6]

The implication is, necessarily, that dogmatic presentations successfully inculcate a whole range of specific beliefs.

Rama Chundra Jachuck of Mahratta descent, a devoted disciple of a Telugu guru, had read some Christian tracts. The effect of his reading was that "he had a deep and awful sense of sin. . . .'I may be called into Eternity today, and if it be so, Hell will be my portion.' Months of mental agony passed away in this state; and to add to his distress, his forgotten sins of former years were remembered and were as a frightful spectre to his soul."[7]

Annett reports this testimony from G. C. Dass:

"I felt I had no hope of deliverance . . .and I was in despair. . . .Hinduism said, 'Take the name of these incarnations and you will be saved,' but I felt it was useless as they never professed to be saviours. I turned to Christ and found that he had offered Himself as an atonement for my sins and He plainly said, 'He that believeth in me hath everlasting life.' "[8]

A Brahmin convert says, "The earnestness of my Bible teacher made me accept his teaching about Christ's redeeming love without any questionings."[9]

These cases seem to show the operation of definiteness where there was vagueness; and of forcefulness where there was utmost uncertainty, hesitancy, and lack of force; of suggestion in realms where there was little or feeble counter-suggestion. It is an axiom of psychology that where there is no contradiction, a suggestion has right of way. What contradictions can these unsophisticated minds which never imagined nor reflected upon such doctrines, bring against them? Their inability to refute the propagandic teaching in any comprehensive way, has come out repeatedly in the data. Moreover, certain other factors in the general situation are ideal from the missionary's viewpoint: these primitive people have a general fear of unknown forces, on the one hand, while, on the other, they regard him as the representative of the new unknown God. He has prestige with forces of the unknown world and appears to be in personal rapport with them. *In such a situation* there is no doubt that forcefulness and frequent suggestion may be the crucial factors in making the new beliefs acceptable. In other words, the setting is propitious and dogmatic assertion does the rest.

Continually in missionary literature we read of men listening to a sermon or two, not being able to forget some dogmatic statement, and having it turn up later so fully incubated with certain fears or desires as to force some line of conduct. Such an occurrence is rather easily identified by the student of human behavior; often, by the subject of it, "the event is taken for a miracle of grace."[10] A special variety of this general class embraces the *dreams and visions* occurring in striking religious experience: here latent injections surreptitiously force their way into prominence.

> ". . . .In the Battak Mission the attention of the heathen was frequently drawn to Christianity by dreams. Many heathen Christians speak of dreams which had a decisive influence on their lives. These are still more frequent on Nias. An old priestess there dreamed that the dead ancestors of her kindred appeared to her and said that the new religion was good, and if they all followed it they would be reunited with their ancestors. The dream made a profound impression on all the relatives to

whom the old woman told it, especially the prospect of being united with the ancestors. The savage Iraono Huna on Nias were led by a dream to accept Christianity. The wife of Solago, who afterwards became a leading supporter of Christianity, dreamed that she saw, at a great distance, a large man with his feet on the earth and his hand reaching to heaven. He became smaller and smaller till, as a little man, with a white garment, he sat down on a stone and said: 'I come from heaven and have to ask you people of Lolowau if you go to church at Lahusa? Are you willing to follow the teaching of God?' Then they prayed together, and he once more exhorted her to go to the missionary that he might show her the way of life. Next day the whole village came to be taught, and the idols were thrown away. This dream had a decisive effect upon the whole district. Others dreamed of a good spring which rose up near the mission house or came from the city of God. Heathen of Lahomi were commissioned by a dream to follow the custom of the missionary, and thereby return to the 'old custom,' i.e., the original, true religion.

"Buttner, in his essay *Traume und Gesichte in der Mission*, has brought together a great mass of material on the subject. . . . He tells of many dreams which pointed the heathen to Christianity as something salutary. . . .

"Miescher also brings together many examples of significant dreams, from the Kols, from the Gold Coast, from a Kaffir youth, and from the Hottentot leader of African huntsmen. . . .

"Kruyt has devoted a chapter in his book, *De Inlander en de Zending*, to dreams. . . ."[11]

"There is one great and noteworthy exception to the general statement that abnormal accompaniments to conversion are relatively infrequent in India as revealed in published records. The exception is the remarkable revival wave that spread over India rather more than ten years ago. It came at the time of the Welsh Revival and began in the Welsh Mission in the Khasi Hills in the north-east of India.

"Most abnormal and unusual experiences are recorded during that time, many of them very similar to those told of in Wales. There were brilliant lights, heavenly voices and visions of wonderful meaning. In some places the results were frankly disappointing, but in many cases evidences of a real change of heart and life were seen. A few cases are given here, all from the Khasi Hills and adjoining districts. . . ."[12]

Suppressed by the awake conscious person, any interest may be so linked with a craving that it breaks out, certain psychiatrists

and psychoanalysts show, in such phenomena. "The accounts of sudden religious conversion are full of instances of hallucinations occurring at the time of the 'crisis' and these—visions and voices—are often logical symbolisms of antecedent thoughts of the subject. By analogy with similar mental phenomena we are compelled to interpret them in the same way and postulate these antecedent experiences as the causal factors."[13] In discussing attracting interests, we referred to the necessity of getting back to these antecedent factors and thence of interpreting dreams and visions in the light of needs and interests. But this fact about them, shown by the incidents above, we did not specifically emphasize; viz., they act as suggestions that resolve conflicts. Just as in hysteroid experience, *they facilitate new alignments of wishes and satisfiers, which persist afterward in some particular relation to the new religious ideas and which therefore effect a resolution of the conflict.**

Extraordinary events in general when quite definite in their denotation, are likely to be the carriers of unusually intense suggestion, because they too have a prestige due to attributing their origin to the unknown and invisible world.

> ". . . .The Battak mission has witnessed many clear interpositions of God, especially in its first days. The missionaries were several times preserved from attempts on their lives. They have taken poison without any injury, and restraint was put upon their enemies, such as to reveal to Christian and heathen alike the finger of God. The Nias mission has had the same

*Speaking of James' description of a case similar to that of Miss B., Prince says: "All this shows mental disintegration. . . .The development of disintegration is facilitated and often started by the mental strain ordinarily induced by the doubts, fears, anxieties, and other emotions which go with the intense introspection which religious scruples call forth. Torn and distracted by doubt, the personality is easily disintegrated, and then the ecstatic emotions associated with religious hopes and longings take root. At this crucial moment the subject, perhaps half oblivious of his surroundings, sees visions which are apt to be the expression of his doubts, and hears a voice which speaks his own thoughts. On coming out of this hysteroid, or hypnoid, state, the exalting emotions persist, along with an incomplete or possibly complete memory of all that has taken place. These emotions then give an entirely new shape and trend to the individual ideas, just as the distressing emotions following hysterical accidents determine the form of the mental content." Prince, "The Psychology of Sudden Religious Experience," *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, I, 52. See also Wm. Healey's books.

experience, especially in the western region, occupied by Lett and Reitze, and in the district Lahusa opened up by the missionary Krumm. But for such clear proofs to the heathen of the Divine power, these two provinces could hardly have been held, though in both a rich harvest has been gathered in under marvelous conditions. . . .The critic will find it easy to assail these acts of God, but they are precious to those who experience them, mission workers, heathen, Christians and heathen, and they produce blessed and permanent results."[14]

The same is true of fulfilled predictions.

". . . .Döring the missionary tells of a man in East Africa who had heard from his childhood of an old prophecy current among his people, that after the time of the Arabs would begin a time of white people, and these white people would be taught of God. About the end of the eighteenth century an old man of the black people in Africa, a Kaffir, gathered all his children round him and said, 'Dear children, I have a presentment that in a short time good people will come to us from afar, who will tell us that our souls at death will go to either a good or bad place. Now as soon as you hear that such people have come, do not remain here, but go forth and hear them.' The most unique instance of this kind is reported of the Karens. Among them was an old prophecy, which was occasionally repeated by a magician in an ecstatic condition, that their deliverance would one day be brought about by white foreigners. These men would have the 'word of Ywah' (God), which the Karens had lost, and which the white men would bring them. . . .The Karens evangelists were received by the heathen everywhere as soon as they appealed to the universally known prediction about the book of God."[15]

"I read a Hindu prophetical book and was induced by it to search for a Saviour. It said that a great race is coming who will make water run up hill, build vehicles that are self-propelling, etc., that race will be the true worshippers of Siva, and their *guru* the long-expected *guru*. And so I believed that Jesus Christ was this reincarnated Siva Guru."[16]

This prestige overcomes fear and inhibitions of various sorts, establishes confidence, and evokes approving and decisive behavior.

Quantity as well as quality counts in giving effectiveness to a suggestion. And neither *repetition* nor *the multiplying of points of contact* are overlooked in the missionary's procedure.

Day after day, week after week, he preaches and spreads his literature; year after year he teaches and tries to exert a personal influence.

> "The great majority of those who accept Christianity are at first attracted to it by some apparently incidental cause. They are not consciously, earnestly, anxiously seeking for light; and it is hardly too much to say that they are never burdened with a troubled conscience toward God. What happens is this. They are struck by the ethical teachings of Christianity; they read a Christian book; they hear a Christian preacher; they have a Christian relative, friend, acquaintance, or teacher. Thus, in some way or other, they are brought under Christian influence, and see or hear something that attracts their attention. From this point they go on step by step. They read the Scriptures, they associate with Christian friends, they attend Church, they begin to pray. If they have a mental struggle, it. . . .is either ethical or philosophical. . . .At last the time comes when they acknowledge to themselves that their convictions are Christian, feel they should confess their belief and do confess it. Then they begin their pilgrimage, often to fall and sometimes never to rise again."[17]

> A commission merchant in Newchwang, a man of some leisure, was an "earnest devotee of a strict Buddhist sect, driven thereto by a sense of sinfulness and a desire for Buddhistic peace, if not perfection.
>
> "He purchased a copy of the gospel, but was wholly unable to understand it, though he gave much time to its study. But after the opening of a chapel he came in contact with the preached word, which is more easily understood. At this time he was so engrossed in Scripture study that he desisted from business altogether. As soon as he grasped the meaning of the gospel message, he became a believer." [Within the year, he became an "inquirer" and was later baptized. He developed into an ardent preacher and was always happiest when preaching.][18]

Consecutive lines of appeal finally make headway even without such concentration.

> One convert brought up in a Christian home reports:
>
> "I was sensible of a desire for forgiveness and salvation before conversion. This desire arose, I think from constantly hearing at revival services and elsewhere of the absolute need of it. The sight of conversions taking place at these meetings intensified

the desire. I felt I too must pass through a similar experience. This must have gone on between the ages of nine and eleven."[19]

Dr. Hail reports: "Honda was a Confucianist. He was a graduate of Fukuzawa's school in Tokyo, and had set up a school on his own responsibility. After a conference with him one day, at my suggestion, he bought a copy of the Bible and began to study it. He said to me when afterwards he applied for baptism, 'When I first read the New Testament, I thought, "This Jesus is a sage. Of course he is not the equal of Confucius, but he is worthy to rank as a sage." Then I read again and again the life and teaching of Jesus as recorded in the Gospels, and compared them with the life and teaching of Confucius. Confucius did not fall in my estimation. On the contrary, the more I studied him the more I admired him. But Jesus constantly rose. His teaching and character took hold of me. He increased, until I was forced to the belief that, while Confucius is a sage, Jesus Christ is God, and I want to dedicate my life to His service.' "[20]

"At this time, however, it was not clear to me that Jesus was the Son of God. I believed that the Bible contained the truth, but I was not prepared to believe that Jesus of Nazareth is the Supreme Being Himself, the Creator of the heavens and the earth. Then I read various Christian books, such as Butler's *Analogy*, Paley's *Evidences*, and especially Bushnell's *Character of Jesus*. I became quite convinced that He is the Son of God; and that He suffered for the salvation of sinners of whom I was a chief one. I began to worship Him and to pray in His name. I was no longer under a sense of condemnation. . . ."[21]

Here we have sample cases, though probably more sophisticated than usual, of the more gradual transition types. In this connection Annett's claim is significant that out of his informants, the vast majority attribute their conversion to the quiet ministries of the home life and to the regular services of the Church.[22]

Indirect Suggestion through Exemplification, Disguise, Art.—It will be noticed that in the matter of repetition, or, frequency, as in those of definiteness and forcefulness, there has been occasional use of what is called indirect suggestion. But indirection is so prominent in technique which is deliberately employed, that it calls for special discussion. Its peculiar function is over-

coming inhibition, or avoiding the ban of contrary suggestion. Though effective, of course, among primitive people, it is peculiarly valuable among those with more sophistication in the realm of magico-religious gods and Occidental culture. Here particularly would direct exhortation and dogmatic assertion arouse doubts, questions, and theo-philosophical issues prevalent in the sectarian groups of Asiatic countries. Accordingly the effective forms of suggestion which, in propaganda among them, come into peculiar prominence, are those which substitute exemplification, disguise, or an art form. These make a surreptitious appeal through capitalizing, on the one hand, attentiveness to the novel and the sensuous, and, on the other hand, the relevant circumstances, habits, and urges.

Let us first note the recognition of the familiar role played by *exemplification*.

In one set of the following cases the example of acquaintances seems to be sufficient, while in another set direct suggestions seems to be called for. The second type provides a check on the first.

> ". . . .(Non-Christian) [Male:] 'I witnessed the baptism of my brother, and . . .the Holy Ghost commenced shining in my heart, showing me that I was a sinner.' [Male; conversion age, 18:] 'The example of Christian brethren led me to decide for Christ.' (Christian) [Female; conversion age, 12:] 'At a large confession meeting many were praying very loudly and asking forgiveness. I also then prayed and received His pardon.' [Female; conversion age, 18:] 'The example of my pious mother and the desire to follow her footsteps led me to give myself to the Lord.' [Female; conversion age, 11:] 'Our lady missionary's example in constantly reading her Bible and praying led me to seek a higher life.' [Male; conversion age, 16:] 'The example of my father as told me by Dr. T———gave me such an impulse as made me decide for Christ.' "[23]

Of such cases Annett says: "There is no doubt that some of the hazinesss about decision for Christ must be attributed to the fact that the teaching given was lacking in clearness and definiteness. . . .

" '. . . .If I had been taken privately and the necessity of

being a child of God had been urged upon me I would have decided early. But the impressions wore off.'

"[Male; conversion age, 32:] 'I can honestly say that I had a real longing for forgiveness for more than four years before conversion. . . .I wish I had been told simply and plainly the way to obtain forgiveness. . . Sin was denounced, but just how to get out of sin was never explained.' "[24]

Naturally the form presented in a stimulus may be a scientific description of fact; on the other hand, it may be sheer counterfeit; and most verbal representations are somewhere between these extremes. To deck out a strange object in an acceptable attire, and to do so surreptiously through familiar eulogizing or exhortation, is favorite group tactics, as we saw in Chapter VII. We are not now interested in the question whether employing *analogies and guises* in this way constitutes a capitalizing of simulation and obscurity, regardless of how conscientiously it may be done. The simple point that we are making is that such "deliberate exploitation of subconscious non-rational inference," as Graham Wallas calls it, is used by preacher and teacher as well as politician and salesman.[25] It is likely to be called good pedagogy by the missionary, good diplomacy by the politician, good promotion by the salesman. When employed by one own's group or for approved ends, it is in favor. When employed by an opposing group or for disapproved ends, it is berated. The psychology of popular speaking is full of it; and personal expressions of opinion and attitude invariably employ it. The classifying of desirable and undesirable things in both promotion and protective technique, comes under this heading. When it is used at the height of crises such as that of conversion, its effect seems totally out of proportion to the effort put into it. Its method is simple. It consists in identifying the new object with some previous interest that is already evoking a desired response, then eliciting that response by means of the new object only—substitution of stimulus or emotional transfer, it is called. The device used to achieve this (nonconscious) shift, when it is used without the subject's awareness of it, is one of the most important forms of indirect suggestion.

Of the subtle carriers of indirect suggestion, *the art form* is one of the most efficient. Sometimes it employs disguise, sometimes merely arrangement—this rarely. It is frequently used to evoke emotions, to overpower taboos. The Chinese who threatens violence, for instance, is wooed away by the story of another who did the same, St. Paul of the New Testament:

> ". . . .Across the bay was a village which had a bad reputation for piracy, and violence generally. To this village he proposed to go and preach. The dangers were pointed out to him. But he said God would take care of him. So he went and preached. . . .
>
> "He had preached all day. In the evening he was thus engaged with a crowd round him. Suddenly . . .a rough and savage-looking man pushed his way through the throng, crying, 'Let me! let me!' The crowd divided before his violence, and he stood before Chai Gee. He had a wood-cleaver in his hand. Raising it he said, 'You dare to speak that accursed name again, and I will split your head open.' The people, frightened, stood back. So they faced each other, the young preacher, and the savage man with the cleaver. Chai Gee silently prayed to God. He then began slowly and softly, 'My friend, I can tell you about a person who hated this doctrine worse than you do, and went about killing people because they believed it.' This introduction aroused the curiosity of the man. He listened. Then Chai Gee told the story of Saul of Tarsus. The cleaver dropped. The man was greatly interested. And in a few minutes the name of Jesus was being mentioned over and over again. The crowd closed around. The man slipped away after a time. . . .
>
> "But by this he missed the last boat. . . .On his way he passed a dooryard. To his consternation he saw the man with the cleaver, splitting wood. . . .Suddenly the man called out, 'Where are you going? Stay here. I will take good care of you, give you something to eat, and a place to sleep.' Chai Gee, fearing treachery, hesitated, but, seeing no way of escape, finally accepted. He was allowed to preach the gospel in the house, and the next morning was sent on his way, the man refusing to accept any compensation for his hospitality.
>
> "Chai Gee closed the narrative with: 'You see how God took care of me. Ah! I can trust him when in danger.' "[26]

The Greenlanders who were impervious to abstractions about a supreme being, were thrilled by a dramatic account of the Great Spirit coming to earth.

> "A great change took place in the mode adopted by our brethren in their endeavors to instruct the natives. The method hitherto pursued by them consisted principally in speaking to the heathen of the existence, the attributes, and perfection of God, and enforcing obedience to the Divine law, hoping by this means gradually to prepare their minds for the reception of the sublimer and more mysterious truths of the gospel: and it must be allowed that, abstractly considered, this method appears the most rational; but when reduced to practice, it was found wholly ineffectual. For five years our missionaries had laboured in this way, and could scarce obtain a patient hearing from the savages. Now, therefore, they determined, in the literal sense of the word to preach Christ and Him crucified without first 'laying the foundations of repentance from dead works and faith towards God.' No sooner did they declare unto the Greenlanders 'the word of reconciliation' in its native simplicity than they beheld its converting and saving power. This reached the hearts of the audience and produced the most astonishing effects. An impression was made which opened a way to their consciences and illuminated their understandings. They remained no longer the stupid and brutish creatures they had once been; they felt they were sinners, and trembled at their danger; they rejoiced in the offer of a Saviour, and were rendered capable of relishing sublimer pleasures than plenty of seals and the low gratification of sensual appetites. A sure foundation being thus laid in the knowledge of a crucified Redeemer, our missionaries soon found that this supplied their young converts with a powerful motive to the abhorence of sin and the performance of every moral duty towards God and their neighbor. . . .In short, the happiest results have attended this practice, not only at first and in Greenland. but in every other country where our missionaries have since laboured for the conversion of the heathen."[27]

In fact they were drawn into such rapport that the desired emotions could be evoked to resolve the conflict favorably. This function of art is well known, but it should be observed in simple situations as well as in complex and dramatic ones.

> ". . . .[Female: conversion age, 16:] 'I loved the *Basket of Flowers* and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, both of which were

presented to me by my uncle to whom I was especially attached. The latter I did not know then was an allegory. I read it over and over again (in my own vernacular).' [Male; conversion age, 10:] 'As a child I loved to read the *Pilgrim's Progress* though I did not know at that time that it was allegorical or had any connection with the Bible or Christian living.' "[28]

It is most effective, of course, in evading strong opposition.

Whether or not artificial forms and arrangements characterize a series of indirect suggestions proffered, one aspect of such a series, it was remarked earlier, may be *such stimulations to attentiveness as things unfamiliar, striking, or bizarre.* When the satisfaction of a basic interest seems equally possible in two different directions, or, by two different groups, it is of considerable importance to conform to this psychological pre-condition of awareness. Many of the artistic, dramatic and other forms mentioned above, comply with it. To suggestible youth or to unsophisticated men (such as the mass of the novitiates seem to be), a person, incident, or book which holds out happy or ominous possibilities not fully familiar to them, holds the attention and allows suggestions to accumulate; while doing so it may evoke various reactions,—fear of security, investigativeness, assertive self-regard, etc.

" '. . . .A day I visited my friend, and I found out small Holy Bible in his library that was written by some American minister with China language, and had shown only the most remarkable events of it. I lend it from him and read it at night, because I was afraid the savage country's law, which if I read the Bible, government will cross whole my family. I understood God at first, and he separated the earth from firmament, made light upon earth, made grass, trees, creatures, fowls, fishes. And he created a man in his own image, . . .he took rest. That day we must call Sunday or Sabbath day. I understood that Jesus was Son of Holy Ghost, and he was crossed for the sins of all world; therefore we must call him our Saviour. Then I put down the book and look around me, saying that: Who made me? My parents? No, God. Who made my table? A carpenter? No, my God. God let trees grow upon the earth, and although God let a carpenter made up my table, it indeed came from some tree. Then I must be thankful to God, I must believe him, and

> I must be upright against him. From that time my mind was fulfilled to read English Bible, and purposed to go to Hakodate to get English or American teacher of it. Therefore I asked of my prince and parents to go thither. But they had not allowed to me for it, and were alarmed at it. But my stableness would not destroy by their expostulations, and I kept such thoughts, praying only to God: Please! let me reach my aim.' "[29]

The novel is obviously more appealing than the familiar which does not require or secure attention. It operates therefore as an aid in creating prestiged suggestion. As we asserted in discussing the attractiveness of the dramatic in evoking expressive tendencies, the novel element in the propagandist, in his group, his education, his meetings, in his sacred Book full of sermon material or interesting story and ethic—this often has prior claim in getting and maintaining the attention of the subject all too familiar with his own environment. It allows him to be drawn into a rapport with the problems raised by this great new matrix, with the proposal this elaborate technique provides for their solution, with the propagandist and the group that stand for or exemplify these new elements. The most bizarre factors are sometimes found to be influential.

> "Hakim Singh . . .had also acquired the fakir's trick of so moving his internal organs that on his bare stomach they appeared to run around like rats chasing each other! Crowds came to see him and were much impressed by what they saw. And they were still more impressed by what they heard, for he spoke with great earnestness to them of Christ. . . .Disciples gathered round him and worshipped him as Christ, though he never authorized this. In course of years over 300 people were united to this loosely-held company. He preached that there is no caste and that all, Hindus, Sikhs, Muhammadans, and outcastes are the same. A disciple would read the Bible and he himself would accompany it with bodily contortions and groanings. This ignorant Christianity held its own for years. . . ."[30]

Reversed or Contrary Suggestion.—Or, take an irritable adolescent youth whose conflict is acute and who is flaring up in anger at some keen disappointment in his home. He may turn to a recent acquaintance who is friendly and has prestige,

and favor his plausible suggestions, where he would not consider his family's. An apparently sharp juxtaposition of opposite tendencies may operate here, especially if his family protests. This sequence is not at all uncommon.

> Take a Batak or Niasser, who has paid his respects to medicine men all his life. If he experiences his first healing at the hands of a prestiged missionary doctor or his first help after prayer to the Christian God for recovery, at the time of some disappointment with the failure of his own medicine men or idols, he may suddenly repudiate his traditional protectors and turn to the newcomers of whom he knows comparatively little.

Such a juxtaposition of opposite tendencies, the psychoanalysts might class with *ambitendency* since it involves taking an attitude toward a cultural matrix, opposite from the one taken before. The phenomena itself, however, occurs continually.

> "A chief's son among the Congo negroes was convinced, in his sickness, of the powerlessness of the fetish while help was given him by the missionary. To put the matter to the proof he put his idols out of the house for one night, depriving himself of their protection. When no harm resulted he took courage and rid himself of them altogether."[31]

> ". . . .A Dyak heathen woman had heard the missionary say that Christians asked God to protect them, and were then sure of being protected. She thought: I will put that to the proof; if that be true, all else will be true. She set herself to pray and found herself delivered from her trouble of terrifying dreams in which she had to do with spectres." [She deliberately rationalized her reverse tendency, some would say, beforehand.][32]

In some of these instances where opposing alternatives are presented, one of which is novel, there seems to be what is known as a reverse or contrary suggestion at work.* In the preceding chapter the case of Goreh was given where the remarks of the

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*Although Sidis and others have taken this up in their discussions of direct versus indirect suggestion, the most elaborate and lucid treatment of this which the writer has seen is Baudion's account of Coue's Law of Reversed Effort. Baudoin, 137, 145, ff.

How far self-protective reactions are responsible for the reversing of suggestion is not now our concern since its determination is not vital here.

inquirer's father acted as a reverse or contrary suggestion, producing not assent or approval, but the opposite effect. On the other hand, some of the cases of opposition to Christianity and ardent defense of non-Christian religions, have undoubtedly been those where the missionary's criticism of non-Christian religions has acted by contrary suggestion to arouse the antithesis of the attitude he aimed to arouse. Less spectacular is the way in which the missionary, preaching piety or continence out of a Christian Bible, is instrumental in sending his hearers back to their non-Christian ceremonies and teachings—although he aims and urges that they should go to Christian prayer and the Christian Bible.

> A convert from Islam declares: "Ten or eleven years before conversion I heard a Christian preacher. . . .From that time I became interested in obtaining a pure heart. This led me to be a more earnest Muhammadan, but," he continues however, "Muhammadanism failed to satisfy my hunger after heart purity."[33]

> ". . . .Siraj'ud-Din, stirred by the Christian teaching in a large Mission College, attempted for a while to find satisfaction in Islam. 'I started saying Muhammadan prayers five times a day,' he writes. 'Since I could understand Arabic, I knew what I was asking and also made ample use of personal prayer in the vernacular at the time of canonical prayer. . . .My heart was early won by the attraction of Christ's personality and character and my learnings were more in favor of Christ, yet the idea of separation was most heart-rending.' "[34]

Reverse suggestion, then, is a definite possibility to be reckoned within this transition stage.

2. THE SETTING OF EFFECTIVE SUGGESTIONS

Throughout the presentation of the transition stage thus far, the significance of a suggestion's setting has been implied if not specifically pointed out. It may be worth while to take special note of certain situations previously stressed in our analysis, which owe part of their distinction to the effective settings they provide for the propagandist's suggestions.

As a first instance, take the *isolation* situation. In Chapter II, immigrants and inmates of boarding schools, orphan homes, opium refuges, hospitals, prisons, etc., were found to be so isolated from their own complex-culture groups, that they were far more susceptible to Christian propaganda than individuals in intimate social relations with their groups. Without doubt the separation of these individuals from their previous surroundings provided that same shutting off of interference and the same concentration upon the interests at hand which always facilitate suggestion. The isolation setting accomplishes the same effective narrowing of attention as the tactics of psychotherapists and orators, or as the mental application of such men as the Buddhist commission merchant of Newchwang described above.

A second type of situation that is significant for its functioning as an adventitious setting, is the *natural crisis.* An immediate experience of sorrow, or fear, or excitement, or what not, may utterly preoccupy one. Under such circumstances, if it is felt that any outside agency is suited to resolve the crisis, obviously that agency is prized far more than it would be in a different setting. As a source of suggestion or of a series of suggestions it therefore has unusual influence:—"A Battak teacher says that one of the reasons which often have a decisive influence in bringing the heathen to Christianity, is their experience of the impotence of heathen sanctuaries and idols. He tells of a heathen, in whose family one case of death was followed by another, and the science of the priest was always powerless. The members of the family resolved to become Christians. . . .In a heathen region of Nias a certain Ama Dahombowo, in the absence of the missionary, had cast away his idols, and justified his conduct to the heathen thus: 'It is not the missionary who cleanses our houses of idols. We ourselves do it as soon as we know the living God, for we are then convinced that we do not need them.' He told them that his wife had been seriously ill, and neither priests nor sacrifices had brought her any help. But the medicine given

by the missionary healed her. The same thing happened later in the case of her brother. When another brother became ill he entreated the missionary to pray to his God, and if help came, then the missionaries' God would be his God. The sick man was restored. 'Then we considered, thought it well over, and came to the conclusion that God is stronger than our idols, and that He hears our prayers. Then I made a first attempt and removed the idols from my house without incurring any harm. . . .Thus quite alone, and of our free will we have thrown away our idols, and I for one will not return to them.' "[35] Obviously the crisis setting was dominant. That the magico-religious and other aspects of the setting were also indispensable here, hardly calls for comment, the naive claims of some missionaries notwithstanding.*

Now the reason that the Christian mores are embraced upon such a partial and rudimentary comprehension of them, in the cases just given, is that the setting, the milieu, the indigenous culture, provides practically *no competing suggestions*. As we have intimated above in another connection, primitive or unsophisticated man would hardly be able to refute many parts of the Christian mores and to select from them, if he desired to do so. He is no expert in these matters, and does not know what is necessary to guarantee him the support and aid of the new God. Without contradiction, the suggestion that the new mores should be adopted *in toto*, tends to have right of way. Of course, other factors enter in also. But, notice that mere practicability or feasibility in certain respects—notably, proof that no visible harm results and that converts under missionaries' care seem the more prosperous—seems to be all that is necessary in many cases.

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*Warneck naively admits that "a superficial observer might be inclined to attribute their assent to the truth of the Gospel to their credulity. But this credulity is found only within the precincts of their own religion; they *believe every magician and soothsayer*, and though often deceived have confidence in their magic arts. Everything outside that is viewed with deepest distrust and rejected with caution." [Italics ours.] Warneck, 199. Obviously, though from a different point of view, his comments on the effects of a dogmatic Islam quoted earlier, seem to contradict this special pleading.

For example: "A Nias chief testified: 'It is six years since I ceased to worship idols, and yet God has richly blessed me all those years. This has made it perfectly plain that we have no need of idols, and that it would be better if all were Christians.' "[36]

Once these rudimentary prerequisites are assured, the suggestions in favor of adopting Christianity as a system gain undoubted advantage from the lack of competing suggestions.

Finally, whatever the conditions facilitating suggestion, and whether auto-suggestion or hetero-suggestion, indirect suggestion through art and personal influence, or direct semi-hypnotic suggestion is employed,—in any case the evoking of desires, wishes, needs, must be kept in mind as the element that in the vast majority of instances finally tips the scales in favor of the new complexes and resolves the conflict under the stimulating effect of some technique for suggestion. Ideas or suggestive objects or actions may be supplied from without; they must operate by *evoking an inner urge.*

For instance, here is a case where a man's self-regard is immediately threatened by insinuation. Becoming a Christian is his protective remedy for restoring the most complete self-regard and also for fulfilling other needs previously linked with the new interests:—

". . . .Suddenly, one evening, Mr. Meng appeared, and told his story: of the visit of Mr. Burns; of the wonderful book he had left; of how, in the troublous times of 1868, when the land was filled with insurgents, he would go away by himself and read it and get comfort; of how some two months previous to his coming, his wife had said to him, 'You say that you believe those books tell the truth, and that men ought to worship Jesus and not idols. Then, why don't you do it?' He replied 'I do believe it, and I will.' . . . .And, true to their convictions, they at once destroyed their idols, and began to read the New Testament together, and to pray. A few months later he was received to the church."[37]

3. SUGGESTION IN MASS MOVEMENTS

Preliminary to the consideration of the affective and emotional element in the transition process, let us call to mind the

data given on mass movements by families, villages, and larger communities. Quite elementary suggestion has been released here to operate with cumulative force.

> Speaking of Animistic peoples, Warneck says that "this feeling of solidarity is a chief hindrance, because it makes the idea impossible for the individual that he should have to choose his standpoint when a new religion enters his life. Such a question has been settled by the tribe in advance. Later on, when a number of distinguished men have become Christians, the same feeling of oneness may lead many more to follow them. When asking individuals their reasons for becoming Christian, I often received the answers, 'Because my neighbours did so,' or, 'I have followed the elders.' "[38]

> ". . . .The impulse that gives rise to such movements is a ferment of some kind of new life in the mass, rather than any definite aspiration separately realised by each individual. In such cases it must often be recognised that only a few out of a large number have any definite idea why they are moving towards Christian truth, while many seem to be moving only because others have moved, and they are carried along by a current which they themselves hardly understand.
>
> "These mass movements are usually experienced among people who are beginning to turn toward Christianity from a condition of degradation and ignorance, so that it cannot be suggested that such persons are actuated by motives of a high order. Often the motives are neither spiritual nor moral in the earlier stages, ...[39]

The action suggested has been previously taboo. But the mystic and social forces maintaining the taboos have now been discredited. They can no longer inhibit suggestion coming from more highly prestiged sources.* And the group gives way, following their leaders in the direction of the positive suggestion.

> "Another thoughtful correspondent writes: 'Hundreds of our best people were swept in on the tide of the mass movement,

*"Immerhin ist festzuhalten, dass die einfachen Leute des Volkes, welche ohne vorgefasste Meinung, ohne Furcht und Misstrauen, sowie ohne übertriebene Skepsis und ohne konträre Willenstrengung sich den Einflüssen der Suggestion anheimgeben, am leichtesten und intensivesten sugestiv beeinflusst und selbst hypnotisiert werden können." Stoll, 13.

> who, as individuals, would hardly have been sought or reached by any other method.' Another says: 'Nineteen-twentieths of our Christians are the result of mass movements.' "[40]

In Africa whole tribes could be baptized, where missionaries do not allow it for lack of teachers to instruct them. The same testimony is quoted from mass movement sections of India where pronounced emotion is not so large a factor.

Thus the mass movement objectively viewed is a psychic epidemic guided by the induced suggestion or stimuli from prestiged sources. Testimony has been given earlier to show that Moslem or Hindu leaders might be the agency of the stimulus. The exact explanation of the shift in each particular case, and the function of the old and the new group organizations comparatively, must await further data.

The wholesale mass movements do not seem to be merely mob or crowd action as usually understood. In mob action, social influence is withdrawn or eliminated from the sub-group called the mob: public opinion is ineffective upon it. In mass movements, however, the attitude of a wider group seems to be considered where there is one; moreover, it is frequently an inclusive social group such as a tribe or a caste that acts, and it is then "public opinion" itself that determines the action. The same thing happens as occurs in any nationalistic craze, in any national war enthusiasm. However, this much is similar to the mob, that in mass movements thus far noted, individual initiative and reflection seem to be at low ebb, and suggestion operates from prestiged centers upon group opinion largely because of the social interdependence that makes non-conformity unbearable.

4. EMOTION AND SUGGESTION

Emotion may take a prominent place as a drive within the process of individual and group selection or associated with it. In the psychology of the crowd, the power of emotional waves is a commonplace. In the psychology of primitive man, the emotional and motor elements are known to exert a far greater

potency than reflective conceptual thought.[41] In therapeutics and in everyday life, the suggestion that elicits emotion or the stronger emotion, is generally conceded to be much more effective.* In all these cases it narrows the field of attention and heightens suggestibility to what is in the field.† And when we come to the mission field, we find that in everyday events evoked emotion is bursting over inhibitions in the same way, crowding out conflicting tendencies, and allowing resolutions favorable to propagandists.

> "The natives, indeed, are extremely fond of singing, and of music of any kind. I was most amused to see the power it had one day over a poor superstitious woman. She had ventured to come and look round the place with her little boy; but nothing would induce her to come near the door. She always drew back, saying she was frightened; and, when I patted her little boy on the shoulder, she drew him quickly away. I thought to try what effect music would have, and, slipping into the parlour, I began to play very softly the Tyrolese Evening Hymn. In a moment or two she came gliding in, all her superstitious fears forgotten, with wistful and eager expression in her large black eyes, and she sat down by my side. When I finished, she lifted both hands imploringly, crying in her own language, 'O Missi, make it sing more!' "[42]

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*"In making use of suggestion for therapeutic purposes it is essential to construct one with strong emotional tones and pleasurable and exalted feeling for the purposes of increasing resistances to contrary impulses, and carrying the suggestion to fruition. This I believe to be one of the secrets of successful suggestive procedure. The construction of an effective suggestion is an art in itself and must be based on the psychological conditions existing in each case." Prince, footnote on p. 462.

†"In every-day life intense emotion excludes from the field of awareness thoughts that are unrelated, antagonistic to and incompatible with the ideas exciting the emotion, and perceptions of the environment that ordinarily would enter awareness. The field of consciousness is thereby contracted and limited to thoughts excited by or associated with the emotion." Prince, 489.

The part played by emotion in conflicts of any sort, Prince outlines clearly on pp. 452-454.

"This principle of the reciprocal inhibition of antagonistic reactions is one of the important contributions of Sherrington to the knowledge of reflex action. It is not the only principle that he found operative. Sometimes two reflexes are aroused together, but that is when they work together harmoniously, and in fact unite to form a compound reflex. Both of these principles—that of the reciprocal inhibition of antagonistic reactions, and that of the union of allied or harmonious reactions—can be observed in mental as well as in reflex action." Woodworth, (A), 112.

Livingstone once wrote: "In cutting out a tumor, an inch in diameter, they sit and talk as if they felt nothing. 'A man like me never cries,' they say, 'they are children that cry.' And it is a fact that the men never cry. But when the Spirit of God works on their minds they cry most piteously. Sometimes in church they endeavor to screen themselves from the eyes of the preacher by hiding under the forms or covering their heads with their karosses as a remedy against their convictions. And when they find that won't do, they rush out of the church and run with all their might, crying as if the hand of death were behind them. One would think, when they got away, there they would remain; but no, there they are in their places at the very next meeting. It is not to be wondered at that they should exhibit agitations of body when the mind is affected, as they are quite unaccustomed to restrain their feelings. But that the hardened beings should be moved mentally at all is wonderful indeed. If you saw them in their savage state you would feel the force of this more."[43]

"Our congregations had increased in size before the protracted meeting. . . .Probably two thousand were generally present, while many went away who could not gain admittance, and more deep solemnity, stillness, and fixed attention could never be found in any part of the world. Old hardened transgressors, who had scarcely been to the house of God for the whole fifteen years that the Gospel had been preached at this place, were now seen there in tears, melting down under the power of omnipotent truth. . . .Though I had seen many revivals in the United States, I have never before been in a place where the spirit of God seemed so ready to follow up every truth exhibited before the people. Every sermon seemed to do thorough execution. If terror was preached, the people were terrified; if love was the theme, they were melted; and those who had been before the most set against the Gospel, were, in many cases, the first to fall under its power. So evident was the effect of every effort, both in awakening individuals and in making a general impression, that I often felt as if I wished to preach the whole twenty-four hours without any respite.

". . . .One of the earliest effects witnessed of the operations of the Spirit here was that old inveterate smokers were abandoning their pipes and flocking to the house of God. . . .Parents were astonished to find their little ones not only becoming more docile and ready to listen to them, but to find them often alone praying to God to save their souls. For a long time one could scarcely go in any direction in the sugar cane or bana groves

without finding these little ones praying and weeping before God. . . ."[44]

". . . .[Female; conversion age, 14:] ten years later [i.e., after decision for Christ], in the convention at S———— I had a strange experience. I was in a meeting that was heart-searching, and people were confessing their sins in prayers with weeping and screaming. The meeting lasted for hours and it was about midnight when I began to pray, and I remember I completely broke down. I screamed also though I did not want to. I shook all over. I left the meeting after a little and went to bed. I shook there also and got but little sleep. This experience does not seem to be much in words, but it has been very sacred to me, so much so that I have seldom mentioned it. I was very happy and peaceful after this experience. Christ seemed near to me . . . .and I felt like singing and praising Him all the time."[45]

Apropos of mass movements, when prestige has passed to the newcomers, propagandists often find it quite easy to evoke emotion in the unsophisticated members of rude cultures. As a lady informant from East Africa put it, the negroes are "awfully emotional": one man coming up in front of the meeting confessing and moaning would soon bring such a crowd she would stop them; any number of converts could be secured.[46]

Although acute conflict conversion and revival meetings are the aspects of mission work where emotional phenomena of this sort are most striking* and "outbursts of feelings" aside from these may be rare,† we contend that the operation of this

*Continuing a discussion of inhibition by conflict in all regions of life, Prince goes on to say: "Likewise the intense religious emotions (awe, reverence, self-abasement, divine love, etc.) may, if sufficiently strong, suppress the opposing instincts of anger, fear, play, and self-assertion, and emotions compounded of them. Examples might be cited from the lives of religious martyrs and fanatics." Prince, 457-458.

In discussing the "Psychology of Sudden Religious Experience" in the *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 1 (1907), p. 51, he uses Miss B. for illustration, whom he examined in three hypnotic states. Of her he says: "Evidence then, as a whole, goes to show that the part played by the subconscious mind consisted in furnishing emotions rather than ideas. It may again be repeated that the subconscious fanciful ideas, with which the emotion of ecstacy in the above observation was associated, formed no part of that system of ideas which constituted her waking belief."

†Among Annett's exceptional informants, "the emotional nature with most was in a state of tension at the time of conversion, but with comparatively few, so far as the records reveal it, was there any outburst of feelings. Rather more then one-third of the cases do not mention any emotions at all at the time, while a few definitely say that there were none." Annett, 142.

same feeling element is undoubtedly the explanation of the way many an interest becomes attractive and induces approving reactions. Even the personal attachment between teacher and pupil in a mission or any other school is, above all, emotional.[47] In reactions to the personal and paternal aspects of the Christian deity shown in Bentley's and other collections of biographical sketches, emotion figures unmistakably. The efficacy of the inferiority attitude seems to be that it allows a concentration of the attention and a narrowing of the field of suggestibility along with the producing of a higher emotional sensibility to the source of prestige and authority.

> A missionary for forty-one years in Syria, at the close of a biography of a convert from Islam declares:
>
> "We are apt to be discouraged by the closely riveted and intense intellectual aversion of these millions of Moslems to the doctrines of the Trinity and of the divinity of Jesus Christ. But Kamil's intellectual difficulties about the Trinity vanished when he felt the need of a divine Savior. . . .
>
> ". . . .he once said to me, 'redemption, how wonderful! I now see how God can be just and justify the sinner. We have nothing of this in Islam. . . .' What the Mohammedan needs above all things is a sense of sin, of personal sin, and of his need of a Saviour." [Mr. Jessup reiterates and elaborates this as his fundamental belief.][48]

Thus logical questions are set aside by the psychological preference given to things directly pertaining to inferiority-superiority, to the craving for self-regard; the solution of the problem which compensates one's inferiority attitude and which satisfies one's self-regard is embraced by linking up the convert with the superior God; and other questions must then be subsumed—be either explained in the light of the accepted solution or be taken on faith.

This comment brings to mind the fact that our examination of the way approving responses met basic needs, did not stress emotions per se. No, not per se, yet in every interest the possible operation of emotion must be assumed. It may be regarded as an element in the desire itself, Freud, McDougall, or, in some

cases even Watson would say. It may arise as the result of incomplete or delayed satisfaction of the desires, or as a result of conflicting interests, Dewey or Meade might put it. In some cases there seems to be a release of unsatisfied or repressed social-intimacy, hence emotionalized, upon the missionary or the Christian God, somewhat analogous to the transference of thwarted desire, recorded by psychotherapists, from a hidden or intraverted state to attachment to the physician. At any rate, as Woodworth claims, following Cannon, emotion is undoubtedly an organic preparatory step to action and it undoubtedly has drive[49]—in cases recorded above. From our point of view it is evident that the innate desires evoked by suggestion, whether instinctive or organized into complexes or reaction-systems, are often noteworthy for their emotional tones. These emotional tones do aid in tipping the scales in conflicts and in determining how transition states are to be terminated. The accumulation of new interests with their emotional tones then becomes the center of energy, as James would say.[50] It overcomes the conflicting or inhibiting interests, and thus becomes free to determine the satisfaction of the individual's basic needs. It becomes the basis for a reorganization of complexes or reaction-systems.

The result is a new alignment of needs and interests and within them a new alignment of the related emotions.

Although we do not agree entirely with Annett, he and all Christian promoters would insist on some change of *attitude*. He says:

". . . .Conversion with many is not primarily a convincement of mind neither is it principally an emotional experience, but a change of attitude towards God, and self-surrender is the final step that leads to the uplands of eternal life. It may be but a small step, the last of many that led upward, or it may be a vast step that seems to separate one from the past as by a chasm. . . ."[51]

Grosser examples of this are easily seen in many converts. Fear, for example, is shifted from taboos and penalties and from demons, and becomes linked with new prohibitions, with hell,

with disapproval of church, missionary, and God. The desire for approval is shifted; the range of the acquisitive is enlarged; etc. Not all at once—no, probably not, but it does so, contracting some and expanding others. That is anticipating our further line of analysis, however.

5. SUGGESTION IN CONDIDATE'S SUBSCRIPTION TO DIFFICULT NORMS

This description of the psychological nature of the transition process, particularly of the role of suggestion, is in no way complete unless it takes into consideration the fact that, in avowing Christianity, the individual or group often subscribes to behavior far above or beyond his or its immediate abilities—whether in conduct, sentiment, or belief.

> ". . . .One after another, men and women in middle and advanced life, as well as the young, give up their pride and sinful practices and all that has made up the essence of their unholy life in the past, and then go out and testify by life and word among their neighbours that they have passed from darkness into light.'[52]

Our discussion thus far shows that it is from sheer illusion that we try to force an interpretation upon this change in ideals and behavior in terms of reasonably or logically thinking out the implications of Christianity. Calculation as to the worth (effect or utility) or logicalness of the Christian standards, does not seem to figure prominently in either the convert's avowal of them or in his realization of them in his own behavior.* Moreover, to the degree in which certain aspects of Christianity *are* reflectively contemplated, they sometimes make an appeal by virtue of their representation in *an idealized form* which stands in great contrast to everyday non-Christian conduct and everyday Christian conduct. Most significant is it that among

*This is in accord with the way suggestion operates. As a contemporary sociologist sums it up, "there is nothing logical about suggestion; that is to say, we get the ideas that our associates have, or seem to have, without regard to whether they are true ideas or false ones." (Hayes, 306.) And as Marett indicates in telling illustrations, "primitive credulity" operates in this emotionalized realm with the irresistibleness of hypnotism. Marett, (B), 40-42.

Annett's informants Jesus' example and teachings appear to have impressed non-Christian youths more than those from Christian families.

> [Male; conversion age, 18:] "I then began to compare the life of Christ with as much as I knew of Hinduism to see whether this religion gives any example like that. I found none."[53]

> Baju-Nath, a Kshatriya by caste from Northern Rajputana, when a youth sought cleansing from sin and union with his Creator at shrines throughout India. By "lifeless ritual," "foul smell of blood," and worldly priests he was repulsed. At last in hunger he chanced upon a Christian mission.
>
> " 'What a wondrous conception of God,' he continues, 'was here unfolded to me in this same great love. What a contrast to the manifestation in Kali! in Mahadeo! . . . .In all my previous aspirations for a union with my Creator, I had never been able to rise to the conception of such a love. . . .The thought that for such a worthless sinner as myself, Jesus, my own Creator should have poured out His life-blood on the Cross, so utterly transcended anything that man could imagine, that I saw it had been revealed by God Himself to man. I saw that not only this world but the whole universe contained nothing better for man than this belief in the wondrous love of God for me, as manifested in Christ Jesus. So I believed.' "[54]

Unfamiliarity with the inside life of the ordinary Christian community conspires with an idealization of Christian epic and belief. The situation lends itself particularly to partialness in comprehending Christian mores and to abrupt conversion. On the other hand, the material betterment of convert communities has undoubtedly caused more than one gradually enlarging mass movement toward Christianity. In both cases certain elements from the Christian group's assets—beliefs, sentiments, conduct, or acquisitions—evoke definite responses of approval and desire. The propagandists' group holds out acceptance of Christianity *en bloc* with church membership implied, as the only way to attain the desired elements in any satisfactory manner. The new world is strange to him; the Christian group's technique and its prestiged leader are *the only guides* in it; and the patterns they set for the subject by suggestion before and during the critical

stages of the transition process, are the ones that psychologically he is compelled to accept if he satisfies his present craving. The alternative to the Christian group's solution of his difficulty, is a continued conformity to his old group which cannot satisfy the one pressing desire which now grips him.

It may be claimed by some observers that in the usual case the possible convert does not devise a third solution or a compromise because it means original thinking which he cannot do. This criticism is likely to overstress the original or reflective elements involved in grasping apparently fresh ideas.[55] That danger aside, it is obvious that if no solution of his own is present to "occupy his mind" or clear up his difficulty, one of those offered by others must be adopted.

However, there are two fundamental factors sometimes lost sight of here, *even when a compromise does occur to him.* First, that sheer hetero- or auto-suggestion wins the day in some instances, as seen most spectacularly in revivals, dreams, and other special cases.* Second, that if the individual did accept a third solution not espoused by either of the various groups confronting him, he would not be a member in good standing in any group—and that would be intolerable to the ordinary person.

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*". . . under Confucian teaching the highest possible duty of man is filial piety, and it is laid down that one of the highest examples of filial piety is the duty of revenge against any one who has wronged a man's father or any of his near of kin. A filial son, it is said, will not live under the same heaven as his father's murderer, that is to say, revenge must be the one object of his life, not to be laid aside until he has slain the wrongdoer or is himself slain.

"An evangelist in Manchuria was the nephew of a zealous preacher, 'Blind Chang,' who was cruelly murdered many years ago. At one of the meetings, this evangelist, in a moment of profound spiritual emotion, declared that he had for the first time come to know the Lord. 'Do you forgive your enemies?' he was asked by a Chinese pastor. For a moment this was more than he could promise. A Chinese friend arose and went to his side, saying to him, 'I want to help you; I will do all I can to help you. Forgive them!' Still he could not promise, and many silent prayers were offered for him. At last he said very quietly, 'I forgive them. Pray for these men, all of you, that they may be saved: and pray for me that I may be given the victory over myself and them. I shall first write and tell them of my forgiveness and hopes, and then at the earliest opportunity visit them, and plead with them to repent and be saved.'

"It may seem little that a Christian man should abandon the thought of taking a bloody revenge, but he was not only giving up the impulse of present passion, but breaking with the traditions of his race, and the teachings of a lifetime." *W.M.C.*, II, 228.

Under such conditions then, if the patterns set as Jonathan Edwards* described the process, are Jesus' life, forgiving enemies, loving mankind, accepting the Bible as God's word, and any other comprehensive or far-reaching propositions—they are ostensibly accepted, as we shall see in a further study. Even the interpretation of the forces at work in the conflict experience is accepted as given by the propagandic agents—i.e., that those forces are the Christian's magico-religious God working in the subject's heart and mind.†

Suggestion operating through group agents and group patterns, then, is the aspect of the transition process to which especial attention has been called in this section. Sometimes the suggestions are direct, caused by dogmatic assertion, psychic phenomena, or striking events; sometimes indirect, induced through exemplification, analogy and disguise, or art; sometimes reversed. Dependent upon the relevancy of the external and bio-psychological setting in each case, operating in accordance with certain principles of priority, and utilizing the dynamic of emotion, these suggestions initiate mass movements and make the individual subscribe to patterns of behavior far beyond his immediate achievements. He does this in becoming a candidate for church membership. The subject who resolves his own conflict while still outside of the Christian group, has escaped the final stage of the Christian missionary's influence. But the group patterns have had some influence even with him, furnishing him with parts of solutions, and should be borne in mind in the study of each individual case. To trace this whole process on through the convert's experience will mean to examine his subsequent orientation toward the old and the new groups. That, however, would take us beyond the scope of the present volume into an analysis of the convert per se.

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*Footnote, p. 427 above.

†"A candidate for baptism in Ovamboland said to the missionary Wulfhorst: 'Teacher, it is true; surely, surely, it is true; God's words is true. I feel it; I have something of the peace of God. Really, really it is God I feel it in my heart.' " Warneck, footnote on p. 198

See also *W.M.C.*, I, 354-6, for the usual interpretation.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

1. For a general discussion of the principles determining preference or advantage among available suggestions, see such works as the following:
   i) Watson, 289-300.
   ii) Goddard, 211 and preceding.
   iii) Woodworth, 107, 116-117.
   iv) Thorndike, (B), 70 ff.
   The older accounts are very suggestive: e.g., James, (A), 112-117, and (B), 45-47.
   See White, (A), or more elaborate psychoanalytic works on the influence of ambivalency and ambitendency.
2. Mitchell, 123-124.
3. Warneck, 206-207.
4. *W.M.C.*, IV, 13.
5. Warneck, 197.
6. *Ibid.*, 191-196.
7. *Sketches of Indian Christians*, 137-138.
8. Annett, 23.
9. *Ibid.*, 183-184.
10. James, (B), 55.
11. Warneck, 176-178; also 178-181.
12. Annett, 46.
13. Prince, 193; also 223.
14. Warneck, 175-176.
15. *Ibid.*, 179-180.
16. Annett, 98.
17. *W.M.C.*, IV, 107.
18. Bentley, chap. xiv, "Old Wang, the Founder of Protestantism in Manchuria," 166-167.
19. Annett, 132-133. Other cases by same author.
20. *W.M.C.*, IV, 108-109.
21. Annett, 39.
22. *Ibid.*, 98.
23. *Ibid.*, 120-121.
24. *Ibid.*, 89.
25. Wallas, p. xi.
26. Bentley, chap. ii. "Chai Gee," 29-31
27. *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren*, 33 ff., quoted in Robinson, (A), 52-53.
28. Annett, 97. Cf. also Lee, chap. x, "Stories and Story Tellers," 45 ff., and 81 ff.
29. Hardy, 7-8.
30. Annett, 25-26.
31. Warneck, 215.
32. *Loc. cit.*
33. Annett, 132.
34. *Ibid.*, 28-29.
35. Warneck, 214.
36. *Ibid.*, 214.
37. Bentley, chap. ix. Chauncey Goodrich, "Pastor Meng of Paotingfu," 119-120.
38. *W.M.C.*, IV, 16.
39. *Ibid.*, II, 85-86.
40. *W.M.C.*, II, 90-91.
41. Marett, (B), 181.
42. Paton, (A), 56.
43. Blaikie, 67.
44. Gulick, 165-166, from letter written 1838.
45. Annett, 167-168.
46. Informant, y-5, 1916.
47. Jennings, etc., 96-98.
48. Jessup, 144-145, and ff.
49. Woodworth, 54-59.
50. James, (A), 196.
51. Annett, 137.
52. *W.M.C.*, I, 356.
53. Annett, 113.
54. *Ibid.*, 4-5.
55. Ctr. Dewey.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PROPAGANDIC IMPACT AS A WHOLE

The entire treatment of Protestant Christian propaganda in alien communities as outlined in the Introduction, is closely interrelated. Summary comment on the early stages of it which have now been covered, if it is to be significant, must anticipate later stages in the process to which these early stages are related. We are therefore taking the liberty of assuming some of the data to be presented in a succeeding volume or two in order to offer a tentative perspective over the initial stages. In so doing, we are taking into view the subjects, the agents, and the processes concerned in the propaganda.

1. NON-CHRISTIAN TYPES

(The Subjects Responding: An Analysis of Types)

Aside from the initial and temporary responses, the present volume offers an outline for a thorough analysis of the more permanent non-approving and approving responses. It seems clear from the outline that an illuminating study might well be made of the *salient types of subjects* that figure in the different kinds of response; that would be subsidiary to the study of the stimulus-response situations in each of which the different kinds of response constitute a part. The types should include those reacting with counter-attack; with resistance; with indifference; with connivance and cooperation; and with receptivity. In addition it should follow the clue given under the examination of the effect of organization on responses, and study the re-organized—i.e., those already converted to other religions—who respond in any way at all to propagandic impact. In lieu of any analysis of these types, it may be worth while to delay here a moment before leaving the outstanding responses to propaganda, and to note the way these studies could be pursued, with the candidate-for-group-membership as an illustration.

The *convert* as we have seen him thus far is scarcely suitable for analysis as a re-organized individual; the conforming technique of ceremonies, instruction, and personal contact with the new group, has not yet had a chance to operate fully. Nevertheless, taking him where he is, what method of study should be employed? There are tests upon tests, ethical, psychological, and even "criminal" that might be applied. Our proposal would be, however, that the study should be genetic and should deal with the man's inner needs and interests. As a man is the result of his past, that past should be studied to discover his general traits. The available biographies of converts do not at all meet this requirement. The kind needed are referred to in Appendix I. Data should be secured on the lives ("life-organization") of converts previous to contact with Christians, throughout their period of approval, and now *during their transition* from approval, through the conflict, to virtual surrender to the new group.

For analysing the convert types in this last stage of development we are classifying them in accordance with the criteria employed in Chapter XI, until a better division is devised:—

(1) First those that effect this transition *gradually* by the interaction of stimulus and response in most prominent aspects of the subject's life—those whose acting, thinking, and feeling thus become more and more like the supposed Christian type. Their development toward that type, if ideal, would be parallel to the all around development of muscular skill in an animal by gradual movement and eye coordinations. It is the education process at its best. But as a matter of fact this would rarely be found achieved to any great degree, except possibly where non-Christians are adopted into the families of Christian saints from early childhood. The experience of the more independent, reflective, idealistic convert may approach this type more nearly than that of any of the others; he would be a rare specimen, however, who relates up his thinking and his acting consistently.

(2) Insusceptibility in some aspects of one's experience, and failure to relate up reflectively certain effective series of stimulations to each other or to dominant complexes, are far more frequent in the convert's psyche. The conversion by simple suggestion such as occurs in mass movements is a case in point: it may be related up to only one phase of one's experience. "A phrase went to my heart and I could not rid myself of it," may be the beginning of a very *disproportionate centering of attention upon very limited aspects of the new forces* and reciprocally of a very disproportionate relating of it to only one aspect or only a few aspects of the subject's experience. Considering the simpleness and the lack of sophistication in many of the subjects, this might easily turn out to be the predominant type.

We have already seen extreme cases of this nature where a man wrestled for several days with the new problem. If the subject is suggestively worked up over the Jesus story in any of its theological formulations or over any other aspect of the new mores, without adequate attention(-comparison) to the relation of the new mores to other aspects of his past life, he tends to organize a complex (of ideas and sentiments and reactions) in such relative isolation from the rest of his life that his behavior becomes centered about two chief alternatives, his old way of living and the newer interests—virtually an *embryonic form of the divided self* or multiple personality. The emotion evoked in this directing of his attention and constructing of a new matrix of ideas and reactions, may then facilitate a gradual conversion in this sense: the new group of complexes gains the ascendancy over the older ones which are now repressed or otherwise disposed of; at the same time, the disproportionate centering of attention results in a condition comparable to *mono-ideism* but referring to an entire complex or reaction-system.

The conforming process (not yet treated) might reorganize either the milder or more extreme types: while maintaining the dominance of the Christian "system," it might interpret the subject's past and present experiences so as to organize them

definitely with it, yet under its dominance, as sin, obedience, etc. This later broadening out of the specialized initial interest which launched him out into the new group, is regarded as necessary and is explicitly aimed at by most propagandists. On the other hand the native Christian leader type so highly valued by the missionaries is often one in which there is not only complete dominance by a very limited system of complexes, or, reaction-systems, but a riddance of as many modifying influences as possible so as to produce the zealot type. This will appear later.

(3) Since "mono-complexism," or, dominance by a certain reaction-system, if we allow for enlarging the original scope of attention and rapport, is usually supposed to follow in the wake of abrupt emotional conversions, that sort of conversion experience is peculiarly desired by many propagandists. This *emotional conflict* experience is everywhere recognized as a distinct type. If a product of such an experience is not debarred by temperament, interests, or group influences, from being dominated by one system of interests, then his submission, on the one hand, and the Christian church mores, on the other, are well suited to absorbing his enthusiasm and interests to the continued exclusion of many ordinarily human interests. The Hindu woman, Chundra Lela, immediately allowed herself to be taken in hand for a wide range of private advice by Mr. Burkholder. The African whose religion of magic suddenly collapses and drops him into the missionary's arms in an ecstatic religious meeting, dethrones the objects to whose prestiged authority he has submitted heretofore and puts himself almost unreservedly under the tutelage of the new authority. He is an emotional conflict type and excellent material for a mono-ideistic convert, other things being equal. Of course, some who do not go through the emotional conversion experience become so too,—as many evangelists prove.

This with the preceding types, then, subdivided as data demands, may provide a basis for tentative classification of the different transition types as they come forward for candidacy in the new group.

2. THE ENTIRE PROCESS: SALIENT FACTORS

Any detailed analysis of *the salient reactions* (e.g., Chapters I, III, V-VIII, etc.) and of *the salient types reacting* (section 1 just above), would furnish material toward a general schematic account of *the salient processes* in the gross. When this is carried out it should be valuable for the initial survey study of any kind of group propagandism—sectarian, class, socialistic, nationalistic, imperialistic,—or for the study of propagandism in general. For the present we shall offer some illustrative suggestions in lieu of the more elaborate study; they will afford a summary account of the present study up to this point.

Need for Studying Non-Christians, Propaganda, and Environing Influences, as well as Observable Reactions.—Preliminary to any such account of the processes in the interaction, the logic of a scientific method would call for an *analysis of the subject, individual or group, before he or it has been stimulated.* In case of a Hindu community, for example, what is the state of the various factors of group organization and how are the basic group needs being met by interests? This procedure was impossible in the present study, starting as it did from the standpoint of the observer who comes upon more or less obvious reactions and investigates them inductively.

A second preliminary step would be the *analysis of the stimulating forces*—the content, personnel, and methods of the propaganda. This too, our procedure has required us to forego and to postpone for the time being.

Certain *conditioning factors*, temporarily or permanently affecting the interaction, would inevitably emerge. Some of them will seem due either to the initial situation by itself or to the stimulus by itself. Wherever their effects are detectable, they must be so classified; or else they must be ascribed to a definite class of conditioning factors considered at length by themselves. A certain flare-up over a test tube of chemical mixtures may not be due to the material originally placed in the tube, to substance mixed into it, or to their interaction inside the tube: it may be due rather to a draught of wind across the tube. In

the same way a number of factors from without the immediate environment seem to effect any propaganda. Far overhead of a given group, sweeps in the element of national prestige or race antagonism, now affected by deprecation arising out of an inflated national self-prestige, now by uncivil treatment at the hands of some foreign representatives, or again by a neighboring national contest such as the Russo-Japanese War. It may seem to some readers that group organization is another case in point. True, it, as well as currents of national and race feeling, may be treated as if it were on the periphery of the original situation; it seemed to the writer however to be a phase of the immediate situation itself. Behind these intervening or conditioning social factors, of course, there may be persistent physical conditions of soil or climate or topography, or changes in them. The usual classifications of conditioning influences must of course be closely scrutinized if they are to be considered as separate from the factors in the social interaction itself, and it does not seem wise to go into the question of such a classification in any initial survey.

Upon scrutiny of the actual impact of the stimulating forces against a given situation, we may find immediately an explosion, a response that warrants attention. These *reactions may well be noted in terms of the salient kinds of out-reference:* those who strike back, those who are passive, those who give in, etc., should be roughly set off against one another (Chapter I). Next, the individuals or groups having similar out-going reactions should be scrutinized to see whether they are in corresponding circumstances causing or facilitating these. This further orientation may be seen in our first analyses of responses (Chapter II). It provides valuable clues.

Propaganda Precipitates Contacts; and they, Growth and Self-Consciousness.—When we come to closer grips with the reaction itself, the in-reference, the internal adjustment, calls for attention. In this realm we first note the commonplace fact that whatever else occurs the subject has more contacts, more experience. He can never again be the same as he was before. Those who assert

that growth is only possible through outside stimulation may magnify this result of propagandism. At least it should be noted. Another thing is certain, the process facilitates the objectifying of the subject's self in a way that may have far-reaching effects. The psychology of the self and self-awareness shows how this is inevitable. "The propagandist affects people very differently from the way their environment does. He kneads them and they see themselves and their standards reflected by his approach and attack, while from their environment they get no evaluation of their *status quo* save by faint indirect suggestion."[1]* Implied in this new evaluation of self there is a new or accentuated self-awareness in both individual and group. This is quite noticeable in the comments of non-approvers.

Innovating Forces Apparently Uncompromising and Rigid.—The forces that have come in and called out reactions and modifications, new growths within and without.—these constitute a comparatively unchangeable factor in the interaction: the subject, be it individual or group, must give way and change if anything does, for the invaders hold their formation like steel. More accurately, the innovating institution, sacred book, and entire range of values—these and the invaders' purpose seem to be fixed factors in any given conflict. When Moslems would not come to the Christian schools with their compulsory Bible study and chapel attendance, for instance, the missionaries said it was necessary to bar them and receive only pupils of Armenian or Eastern Catholic affiliations.† If converts cannot be won who will adopt the initial humble attitude required and subscribe to stipulated ceremonies, doctrines, and norms of the institutions, as they are offered to them in the Christian communities, the propagandist will not allow a church

*See also Ross, (C), 150, on breaking "the clench of the environment" and undermining "the tyranny of group suggestions." On the rise of group self-awareness, see Bristol, 274.

†E.g., "The educational work of the Missions in Turkey, Persia, and Egypt has thus far been largely devoted to the Christian nationalities." *W.M.C.*, III, 231.

to be established. If one class of people is not amenable, another is tried.* To some degree missionaries and missionary mores do change—and those changes are most interesting. But comparatively speaking the above is the dominant impression of the student and represents the dominant trend.

But their Technique Variable.—There is a pliable, adaptable, variable aspect of the innovating forces, however. That is, their method or program. The abundance of agencies, the wealth of forms, the myriad chips from the technique and culture of Western civilization, are all marshalled to accomplish the task in hand. In every country, in every people, the most effective are selected, adapted, and utilized. India, Japan, China, Korea, Africa, and Mohammedan lands, each is assailed by the agencies best suited —for what? for bringing them under the control of the invading institution or group influences.[2] That is the criterion, within limits, and it is applied by a rough trial and error method, by its general workability. And each separate agency or method is estimated in each region by that criterion. Medical work, preaching, schools, literature, industries and all.[3] And if native garb, meatless diet, and a monk's celibacy facilitate the work, even they are to be adopted as far as possible.[4] Any appeal will be made except force, which is taboo, and even there mystic threats of the unseen world are employed in many places, evoking the same fears as does force, only with effects less gross.

Allowing for Apperceptivity of the Subject.— Stated in another way, the propagandist, just as the pedagogue, salesman, and politician, knows that every group and individual has a different apperceptive mass, a different background of experience that determines what effect will be made by each type of appeal. He knows that the impression he will make depends upon the warmth of the interests tapped by his presentation and the ideas aroused by it. He has to find a favorable point of contact

*These remarks call for qualification in the case of mass movements; but in general this principle holds and modifications are exceptions. More explicit description of the most rigid factors in propaganda must wait for the analysis of the propagandic forces in a later volume.

with each different class of subject.* This is true of the propagandist's program as a whole with its evangelism, education, medicine, etc., and of each different method in particular.†

The apperception of the subject determines to a marked extent the technique employed by the agent, the intensity of the conflict, and the final response of the subject. Protestant foreign missions are a fertile field for the study of apperception and promotion psychology.

Apperception in turn is determined by a host of things, by the needs of age, sex, physical condition, intelligence, status, etc. But not by them alone. If basic needs have been met through group organization and technique (as it tends to be, through the institutionalizing of customs), apperception is determined only by that part of the needs which is unsatisfied through group interests. Group technique must be reckoned upon here, especially the protective and anticipatory apologetic and reform, for it is calculated to prevent that dangerous dissatisfaction which makes group members susceptible to undesired outside influences.

Aims of Agent and Subject Differ.—The facts of apperceptivity, of adapting propagandic technique to suit it, and of inflexibility of the propagandist's purpose and values, when taken together imply obviously that the aim of innovator and prospective participator—of agent and of subject—are different. The non-Christian youth goes to school to get rich or acquire English; the school administration give it to him, but do so in order to instill the Christian religion into him.

> Speaking of government schools in China the Report says: ". . . .The exercise of a Christian influence must come largely through personal touch with the students outside college

*Books, pamphlets, and articles have been coming out in abundance, of late, on the "Christian Approach" to Islam and the other religions, or on "points of contact" with people of different national or lesser civil groups. See also references in Warneck, footnote on p. 208.

†The typical approach which a great many preachers make to Christianity in their preaching and teaching, is through texts or opinions from the sages of the particular country. See, for example, Soothill, 42-43 and Griffin, 82.

hours. Their desire to learn more English often gives opportunity for lessons or lectures in English, which may be utilised by the different missions to lead on to more directly evangelistic efforts. The work of the Young Men's Christian Association in this field has won the general approval of the missionaries of other bodies."[5]

"Special importance is attached by a number of writers to the fact that schools are a means of reaching classes who can be reached in no other way. By means of schools where English has been taught, the sons of officials, literati, merchants, and gentry have been attracted. In this way they have been brought under the influence of Western ideas and Christian ideals. One writer says: 'In China, girls' schools occupy a peculiar place as a means of bringing the women to Christ. The women cannot attend our public preaching nor read our books as the men can. Unless they are reached as girls, it is difficult to bring them under the influence of the Gospel.' Elementary schools often prove a means of getting access to homes otherwise inaccessible."[6]

". . . .This industrial work has been of the greatest value to missionaries as a means of getting into touch with the women."[7]

The man in an ethical conflict goes to Christian services or Bible teaching to solve his problem with the intention of maintaining his connection with his previous groups: the propagandists aid him, yet exert every effort to win him, by means of their solution, over into their own group. The same agencies and technique (school, hospital or what not) have a different meaning for each party: for the approvers or the antagonists-who-come-temporarily-as-approvers, they mean ways of rounding out their own incomplete circle of interests *within their present social organization*; for the professional guardian of the Christian forces, they mean ways of getting all of the interests of the approvers into the control of his new group organization, regardless of its effect on their own previous life-organizations or their own social organization. The non-Christians' intention is obvious. The extent to which, in turn, the propagandist avows *his* full intention before the non-Christians, is a rather nice question which cannot be taken up here.

Differences Disclosed by Concepts.—This complete difference in motives, in point of view, indeed of apperceptivity of the subject and agent, is objectified, in some of its states at least, by the shibboleths, epithets, phrases and words used by them. Take a primitive man for example: he denotes the Christian religion as magic, the Bible and prayer and ceremonies as means of influencing magic, and all magic as a means largely of material succor or protection, or their opposites.

> Says Warneck, "They think of the Christian religion as a powerful magic. That conclusion is partially true. . . ."[8]

Non-Christian Chinese may speak of Christianity as the foreigners' means to "profit." The missionary will speak of it as the revelation of God to save the lost.

When either party is definitely aiming to influence the other by this vocabulary, the tactics vary somewhat. The propagandists, in translating the Bible and in using the native tongue, will use the words having favorable connotations, if practicable—naming your wares in terms acceptable to the subject is one of the first principles of religious, commercial, or political salesmanship. The missionary in the Orient calls Christianity an Eastern religion, although its doctrinal and ecclesiastical forms and the practical emphasis of its ethics are of course thoroughly Western; and the convert avoids much antipathy by this device. The more liberal speak of Christianity as a religion complementary to non-Christian religions in which, they insist, God's hand is seen preparing the way for Christianity.

And then in the matter of taboos and customs, the intelligent non-Christian native sees striking naivete of verbal classification in the missionary's language: When mass movements or public opinion or individuals have come and taken portions of the mores of the innovators and seem inclined to return and make their own age-long traditions and group relations more secure and estimable by the new aid received, the propagandists speak of the "weakness," "dangers," and "evils" of the step. On the other hand, when children refuse to worship at the

family shrines, this for the missionary is "encouragement." The interpretation which each side gives by these differing terms inevitably discloses the apperceptive point of view and the fundamental attitude toward the entire impact of propagandic forces.

3. THE INNOVATORS: AIM AND EFFECTIVE STIMULI

To begin our study of foreign propaganda by the Protestant-Christian church, we approached it both objectively and inductively. The outstanding and more or less overt reactions of a great number of people to the propaganda were obvious data that called for interpretation. Thousands of low-caste Hindus were associating themselves with the propagandists, attending their churches and schools, while organizations of high-caste Hindus were vehemently if not violently denouncing these same propagandists. From the more popular classification, our analysis drove us further and further until we outlined an interpretation of these major reactions in terms of the fundamental tendencies or needs of individual and associated living, on the one hand, and in terms of the function of the propagandic forces in thwarting or meeting those needs, on the other hand. More and more recognition had to be given these innovating forces as their activities and effects were observed. Enough ground has now been covered to call for a summary perspective, at least, of the original aim of their intrusion, and of the effective factors in their technique. Our conclusions are gathered from the data up to this point, data from non-approving and approving responses and data from the transition-from-approval-to-candidacy, a transition necessitated or facilitated by the conditions laid down in the propagandist's group.

Psychological and Sociological Implications of Missionary Aim.— To get non-Christians under the control of the Christian Church (as an institution and as group influences), was mentioned above as the general aim of Christian missions. Psychologically, this aim requires, first, (except for the continuously receptive) producing conflict, and second, resolution

of the conflict in such a way as to guarantee new centers of control under the influence of the propagandic (missionary-convert) group. Sociologically speaking, this aim implies, first, (with the same exception) producing such disintegration of social organization as dethrones any forces that oppose him or that will not submit to him, and second, requiring those whom he can persuade through his technique to desert the contrary authorities, norms, and sentiments of their own organizations, to submit unconditionally to his imported group, group organization, and group mores.

These aims are unequivocal and bold. One of the clearest instances of them is shown in the Christian attitude toward the weakening of non-Christian religions. The fact that they are losing some of their hold, are being split into sects, and are rising to defend themselves even with their inadequate protective technique—this is taken by prominent leaders of the Christian missionary movement as a "call to Christianity" to destroy them past recovery before they have time to rally their forces![9]

Conflict and disorganization are specifically aimed at, systematically planned for, and persistently and thoroughly worked toward by the use of an aged and highly efficient technique. They may be disguised. It may be contended that the propagandist aims merely to inject elements into the present social organization without disorganizing it. This, a small number of young liberals among the missionaries seem to be urging. Even their claim must be reexamined or evaluated by such a study as this in the light of what they actually do. Of course, they are not trying to destroy families, cities, governments; but they are trying to destroy castes and non-Christian-religious groupings; and this last means a juxtaposition of alien and native groupings in general (Chapters II, V-VIII, XII, etc.) which results in anything but a quiet injection of a few new mores without disturbing groups' equilibrium.

Again, it might conceivably be claimed that "individualization,"[10] release from the bonds of non-Christian religion and society, is an implicit aim of some propagandists—quite an

anarchistic purpose! We state this merely to say that it cannot be true in practice for the missionary's main task is solid reintegration of the individual with one dominant and lesser groups, with a new mores, and with certain a priori guiding norms dominating them. It may be somewhat true in cases where the missionary prys away a sophisticated follower from the non-Christian group, who will not be subjected to the Christian's program and who re-establishes new group relations allowing greater freedom than his former ones. But this last is in spite of the missionary's effort, not with his cooperation or approval.

From the usual propagandist's point of view: On the one hand, the indigenous civilization may have certain good culture elements in it which should be preserved. On the other hand, certain popular elements of his own Occidental culture, such as health and education, may be good and useful, desirable, worthy of attention. But until surrender is definitely made to the pivotal points in the propagandist's special group version of Occidental mores, he carries on all his activities as preparatory to the consummating achievement of making a convert in the sense we have defined it earlier. The extent to which he carries them on afterward, we shall see in a later volume. It might be said in brief that where conversion cannot be secured, the preparatory action may consist in a program for a vast educational scheme requiring many years. This was Duff's aim in advocating his educational program for Hindu and Mohammedan India. In a similar way, there are many Christian educational institutions, particularly high schools and colleges, with the avowed purpose of injecting as much of the "genius" of Christian mores, the kernel of Christianity they would say, into their pupils as possible; conversions they would like to have in all their pupils, but they feel it worth while even if they do not have them. The illuminating way in which this "broader educational aim" is denounced and defended, criticised and advocated, in mission circles is well illustrated in parts of the Edinburgh Report. The aim of missions is fundamentally "religious" and "evangelistic."

Effective Stimuli Amongst the Different Factors in the Propagandist's Technique.— So much for the aim of Christian propaganda. In discussing the variability of the missionary's technique and the conditioning of its effect by the apperception of the subject, we have already discussed the principles which are significant here. This will be evident from almost any illustration.

> For instance:— "Tracts and literature can only be of use in those parts of the heathen world where men are accustomed to draw their knowledge from books, or where some knowledge of the Gospel has percolated from neighboring regions and awakened curiosity to learn its contents. Moreover, the heathen is prone to connect superstitious notions with the 'book' of the missionary, which he supposes to be a book of magic. It is often advisable to leave the book at first in the background. It has no authority where God is not yet known."[11]

The point that concerns us now is not the general psychological principles themselves which lie behind the process, but the actual concrete effect of various sorts of technique under different conditions, which results in accordance with those principles. As a matter of fact, also, the illustrations that elucidate the general principles, as the one just quoted, may have inaccuracies in them that make them unreliable for judging precisely what stimuli (in the technique) produces precisely what responses (of a given description).

The only sense in which the effectiveness of different factors in the propagandist's technique can be appreciated at this stage of our study is in its function either of producing the various non-approving and receptive reactions we have observed, or of securing candidates for the Christian church in accordance with our previous definitions. The program of the propagandist is a large one—we have considered only a preliminary phase of it so far. Chronologically, securing candidates may not be the first phase in a given case. Years of school teaching or medical practice may preceed it; the day school program in the conforming process may have operated for a long time before there are any candidates for church membership.[12] When such is

true rather copious data is necessary before any positive statements can be made about the relative effectiveness of different factors in Christian technique.

With sufficient data a synthetic study could be made comparing the effective factors from the standpoint of the fundamental interests they provide the subject. The study of attracting interests (in Chapters IX and X) might enlarge its scope so as to give us this data. Various points of view need to be canvassed which take account of conditioning factors. The external restrictions imposed upon a people by some colonial government is a case in point. Again, it is testimony requiring rather careful analysis and interpretation, that eighty per cent of the candidates in one section and seventy-five per cent in another are brought in by converts.[13] Then, too, it is obvious that relative concentration of agencies or forces is most effective, whether we dub it general strategy of the technique or something else.* It has been claimed by John R. Mott, in fact, that Christian missions, if unified and systematized regardless of denominational lines, would do twice their present amount of work. Here we get back into the many conditioning factors spoken of formerly.

This concluding chapter, we are quite aware, merely throws the propagandic process into perspective and points to the kind of problems to be studied. The effects actually produced by

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*". . . .Perhaps it might be laid down as an axiom that whatever force is stationed in a district ought to be of sufficient strength and equipment to make itself felt in spite of all the difficulties." *W.M.C.*, I, 292.

"Except in the case of the Syrians main factors [in the success of Christian missions] are the location and strength of the missionary agencies and the period for which they have been established, but much also depends on the amenability of the classes whom they seek to convert; the hill tribes of Chota Nagpur and the Assam range, and the depressed castes of Madras and the Punjab are far more ready to accept Christianity than the Muhammadans or higher Hindu castes." *Census of India*, 1911, I, Part I, 132.

"From the Methodist Episcopal Mission in North India we have a recent estimate ([Footnote:—] See 'Touching the Untouchables in India' by Rev. Brenton T. Badley in the *Missionary Review of the World*, April 1918.) that the mass movement has doubled in volume since the census (1911) and that during five years succeeding it 10,000 persons monthly were baptized in Protestant missions generally. That particular mission had refused 160,000 who were asking for instruction for lack of oral teachers, but had 60,000 boys and girls for whom there was no prospect of schooling." Stanton, "Education and Script in India," *I.R.M.*, VII (1918), 374.

different features of the innovating propaganda are far more difficult to get into perspective than the effects-which-they-are-meant-to-produce. The main thing to guard against is the propagandist's and other partial statements of either aim or effects. The first as it is brought to bear upon the novitiate with the more formal Christian technique, and the second, also, we hope to take up further in succeeding studies.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

1. Informant, x-4.
2. E.g., see *W.M.C.*, I, 54e-55a, 92, 214, 303, 306, 311.
3. E.g., see *Ibid.*, I, 312 ff; also I, 123-124, 160-161, and III, 22, 371.
4. *Ibid.*, IV, 283.
5. *Ibid.*, III, 120.
6. *Ibid.*, III, 74.
7. *Ibid.*, III, 211.
8. Warneck, 166.
9. See, e.g., the section of the Edinburgh Report on "The Urgency in View of Present Tendencies and Movements in the Non-Christian Religions": *W.M.C.*, I, 11 ff; also I, 15, and IV, 39, 272, regarding sects.
10. Cf. Ross, (E), chap. lvi, 665.
11. Warneck, footnote on p. 194.
12. E.g., see *W.M.C.*, III, 24-25, 158, etc.
13. *I. R. M.*, VII (1918), 367. *W. M.C.*, I, 302, and II, 32.

APPENDIX I

PSYCHO-SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS:

Its Requirements and Possibilities—as illustrated in the procedure and findings of the present volume

1. OUR PRIMARY OBJECTIVE: A REALISTIC ORIENTATION

(Abstract:—Prerequisite to more exact or statistical study is a ***modified objectivism*** employing testimony, and significant by the typicalness of its data. Criticalness is assumed in all use of behavior data. The stimulus-response conception adopted as a tool.

The fact of multiple stimulus, multiple response, and multiple condition of the subject, requires both the selection of cases under "natural" control and attention to prepotent phenomena:—In case of ***stimulus.*** Of ***response.*** Perspective over chapters I-X from this standpoint: a methodological review. Condition of the ***subject:*** Its functional tendencies (urges) impose the primary classification for concrete materials in spite of the fact of "substitution" and the difficulty of identifying function in concrete behavior. Principle of "limitation of possibilities." Summary.)

The Type of Modified Objectivism which is Imperative.—Numerical exactness in conclusions, so far as that will ever be possible,[1] must wait upon a complete equipment of standards of measurement which take cognizance of socio-psychological facts. With that granted as the ultimate goal, an enormous amount of preliminary work must be done in the meantime to eliminate some of the grosser misconceptions of any such process as the one before us, and to prepare for its more exact analysis. Standards of measurement of any sort mark a second or third stage, not a first one. They imply a previous orientation in the agencies, conditions, and happenings that make up any given field of phenomena, and tentative hypotheses arising from that orientation. And even after standards of measurement are devised, and statistics gathered by means of them, the significance of those statistics depends upon the part of the total process which they represent and the relationship which that part bears to the whole process — and this again goes back to the *orientation in the concrete facts and forces of the process, and in hypotheses regarding them.* Quantitative work in the social field cannot get away from the necessity of scrutinizing individual and group behavior *de novo*.

This preliminary orientation requires, on the one hand, perception and objective description of overt behavior.[2] Dearth of realistic socio-psychological material is one of the primary causes both of the superabundant hypotheses under the guise of assured findings, and of the restriction of the field of data; this, indeed, is the most objectionable feature of existing orientations. It requires, on the other hand, introspection, constructive imagination, and reasoning.[3] These are the regions where judgment may run riot and imagination fly to the heights of mysticism under the name of science, it is charged! Granted. They are the regions, then, of tentative analysis, of hypothesis rather than dogma, of the discernment of trends and tendencies rather than the formulation of exact laws — but, regions where critical conclusions are warranted if only they are constantly checked up by fact and experience. In the present description and analysis of Christian propaganda, then, we do not attempt to carve away the interpretative and introspective from the objective. A *modified objectivism* is our aim.* We do, where possible, give preference to behavioristic data; for, as Ogburn claims, following the chief procedure of the "historical school" of anthropologists, that is legitimate and necessary, with certain exceptions, as a safeguard against gross misinterpretations.[4] But *ideational and affective experiences as they are recorded in document and testimony, cannot be overlooked.*

Data: Mode of Securing, and Error in it.—The methods which may be employed in any such study of behavior are, as Thomas and Williams say, field work and the analysis of documents[5]

*The necessity that a strict behaviorism should be supplemented with other methods is well argued by Ellwood in his article on "Objectivism in Psychology," *American Journal of Psychology*, XXII (1916), 289-305. On the other hand, when he allows this theoretical position to go hand in hand with the claim that his "analysis of the social problem in Western civilization" and "scientific social philosophy" has equipped him to propose a "scientific basis for the progressive social movement,"— at the present stage of scientific method in social study!—we are compelled either to repudiate pretensions of scientific method in this field or else to demand that strict principles of scientific methodology be presented and employed before such claims are made. (Quotations from Ellwood, *The Social Problem*, p. vii.)

(and testimony).* Field work with objective material we may pass over. Yet the human document, testimony, tests in word-associations, and verbal expressions in general, are desired along with photographic and phonographic records of overt behavior. It is frankly acknowledged that all documents which are dependent on human judgment for the accuracy with which they (i) report overt happenings, (ii) estimate habitual activity or attitude or belief, or (iii) interpret feelings or motives of the individual recorder — all are subject to error;[6] though it must not be forgotten that the direction and degree of that error, as we shall see in the case of the propagandist in a subsequent volume, may be valuable data. Allowing for such error in reporting, there are certain occasions when testimony has a value that is not always appreciated.

SOME VALUABLE TYPES OF INTROSPECTIVE DATA.—In the first place, introspective data are sometimes given *with awareness yet without prejudice because of naivete in the original informant.* He does not realize that he is disclosing anything peculiar to his own psychology, from the point of view of the hearer. When Mrs. Ma, the Chinese convert, declares that the thing which attracted her to the Christian gospel, was the Christian God's promise of houses and lands to those who did His will, we have evidence of motivation (and, at a time of crisis in an individual's life) which can certainly not be scoffed at because it is not completely behavioristic. The introspective impression here is valued because of her sheer naivete, from our point of view: she is not averse to the impression nor ashamed of it, and she does not think her hearers are averse to it — although, as a matter of fact, many missionaries might so talk of "spiritual" motives as the only worthy ones that such a confession would never be made to them. Again, other data in *equally naive testimony is given without that awareness* which is a part of Mrs. Ma's psychology. When the missionary idealizes behavior tinctured

*As this is going to the Press, the author notices a very suggestive article, from this standpoint, on "A Race Relations Survey" by Robert E. Park in the *Journal of Applied Sociology*, VIII (March-April, 1924), 195-205.

with his own mores and depreciates that tinctured with contrary non-Christian mores, his remarks are unconscious documentary revelations of his own attitudes and mode of thinking that can scarcely be neglected in any scientific investigation — regardless of the fact that they are not objective in the sense demanded by the strict behaviorist.

Testimony with regard to others' overt behavior may be just as valuable as testimony naively given with regard to one's own motives, *if either naivete or absolute disinterestedness is assured* in the one giving the testimony. Very frequently the reader will find that records of natives' or missionaries' experiences will be quoted for utterly different reasons than those for which they were recorded, and that the original purpose does not seem to vitiate their significance. References, for instance, to the continued perversity of converts which is made to show how Satan is opposing the work, are scarcely without significance for the psychology of the convert.

In the case of Mrs. Ma, *a time of crisis* was seen to be *particularly revealing. Mild crises such as shocks and surprises* are likewise opportune. When a Christian worker records his astonishment and pain that the "morality" of some of the converts lags much behind their "spirituality," he has given us behavior clues that are very significant. Again, light is shed on both missionary and pupil in the report that the third grade scholars in a certain Chinese mission school *protested* against the teacher's enthusiasm for making them "soldiers of Jesus."

Direct criticism is not to be overlooked. Confession of one's own supposed shortcomings or censure of others' behavior, often has a bias and exaggeration in it depending upon the attitude of the critic. Yet they are very frequently revelatory.

(In all these cases where testimony and introspection are used, either to describe the immediate behavior or to relate its effects, there may be a *type-significance* to the circumstance that should not be lost sight of. It may require but one statement of a missionary about his own calling to disclose a habitual attitude of mind that operates continuously through

his activities. One does not have to have a complete diagnosis of everything in Mrs. Ma's personal history to know that the desire for houses and lands was a prominent factor in leading her to adopt Christianity.)

We do not discard testimony, then, in our attempt to attain a realistic orientation in the propagandic process. We regard the personal document as "modifiedly objective" data to be interpreted and we go even farther in allowing a place for introspection.* We are perfectly conscious that at present this sort of procedure puts a heavy burden upon the impartiality and judgment of the interpreter. In time *the principles for evaluating testimony* may be so systematized in the psychology of historical research and legal procedure as to lessen some of the risks of error. The consideration of such principles should undoubtedly be taken up seriously by any investigator of human behavior. Yet the lack of them should not prevent the critical use of testimony in getting at the problem before us, in lieu of adequate behavioristic findings.

JUDGMENT NOT COMPLETELY ERADICABLE.—In presenting this contention, it should be reiterated that objectivity cannot do away entirely with the element of judgment which fills so large a place in the use of testimony. As we remarked above, the significance of objective standards and tests depends upon the part of the total behavior process they cover and upon the relationship which that part bears to the whole process — which is a matter of judgment. This fact has been brought up rather adroitly of late in criticism of the reckless spawning of "intelligence-tests" without sufficient heed to their presuppositions and value.[7] In no sense can objectivity get clear away from its hypothetical bases.[8] Yet even more pressing than the recognition of this, is the need for utilizing all the help which logic and

*The same assumption underlies Thomas' monograph on *Race Psychology*, the five-volume monograph of Thomas and Znaniecki on *The Polish Peasant* (e.g., see III, 23.), (Thomas,) Park and Miller's *Old World Traits Transplanted*, and Richmond's *Social Diagnosis*. Documented studies being made of the immigrant, of the immigrant press, of the negro press, of public opinion during the Chicago race riot, etc., are among the recent examples of the absolute necessity of regarding written documents as objective material, in valuable types of social analysis.

critical thought can bring us. It may be the lack of an (American and English) academic tradition emphasizing the implications of logic for sociological research and applying them to specific social problems, which has encouraged our notorious substitution of idealism, prepossession, and exhortation for social analysis. At any rate, aside from the statistical attack of certain objective data, a methodology represented by procedures actually used in sociological research, is conspicuously lacking. Judging by the published studies of the Thomas-Park school of sociologists (if we may so speak of them), the recent issues of *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, and the activities of the Conference for Social Workers, there has been developing a new demand in America for assembling socio-psychological materials, delineating problems, and attacking them in a scientific spirit. Principles of analysis and interpretation are being tried out.[9] The "Limitation of Possibilities" in the *forms* which can be found in the various kinds of material calling for analysis, is being emphasized.[10] In short, *the realm between objectivity and speculation is being attacked in a critical attitude. And to this line of development we offer the present work, tentative yet analytical and documented for study.*

THE STIMULUS-RESPONSE CONCEPTION OF SEQUENCES ADOPTED AS A TOOL.—Possibly the most evident device employed in our study for analyzing individual and group behavior, after the first six chapters, is the stimulus-response conception of sequences taken over from physiological and psychological experimentation. It is our contention that this conception affords a tool for analyzing individual and social behavior even where a modified objectivism is required.* Its superiority over other means of getting at causal factors, we have tried to indicate in Chapter III and again in Chapters IV to X; it is discussed theoretically in Appendix II and Chapters VII and VIII.

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*Since writing the above, the author has run across the article of Edward C. Tolman, "A New Formula for Behaviorism," in the *Psychological Review*, XXIX (1922), 44-53. It is symptomatic of a general tendency to take seriously behaviorism's criticism of obscurantism and to utilize psychology's more exact techniques for the study of general human behavior.

But justification for its use involves at least three other issues. First, the necessity of superseding the categories of cause and effect with categories that *take account of man's irrepressible-tendencies-to-act* and habits built upon them. Under the older conception of cause and effect, a known substance was put under observation; such conditioning factors as temperature were recorded (an aspect of the situation, be it noted, which modified the strict conception of "cause"); some one factor was now varied — a "cause" was introduced; and the resulting change in the original substance was known as the "effect" of the novel factor. Under the conception of stimulus and response, the same procedure is employed with this exception: cognizance is taken of the fact that, an organism, aside from the great increase in conditioning factors, is characterized by certain tendencies-to-act-in-certain-ways both by themselves and through habituations peculiar to the individual or group,[11] and that these compel it to give preferential attention in its behavior to certain aspects of the stimulating field. This justification of the use of stimulus and response has been supplied for us by psychology, and is reiterated only because it makes allowance for the instinctive urges which we stress rather heavily. Obviously, when dealing with the individual, it is often an advantage thus to take over categories and techniques which have been elaborated in the scientific study of the individual, so far as they are serviceable for our purposes.

The second question involved in the justification of our using the stimulus-response conception is whether it may be used in *less controlled situations* than those of the biological or psychological laboratory. Some of the variations in the stimulating field and some of the components in the multiple response elude observation and measurement. But, here also, the behavioristic psychologist and the educational psychologist are already guilty of the same offence, as we shall see directly. While their procedures stand, there is no call for us to bring forward a special apologetic for following their example.

A third issue concerns the relevancy of the terms stimulus and response to *collective behavior* in general. If desired, we might outline different group processes involved in mob action, gang or family solidarity, nationalistic war crazes, etc., or rehearse types presented in this volume to show the appropriateness of applying stimulus and response to collective behavior. However, as Woodworth has suggested, in the sociologist's "group" a larger set of phenomena is treated than in the psychologist's "individual," in the latter a larger set than in the physiologist's "organ" or what not, and in the latter a larger set than in the physical scientist's isolated "particles;" and yet, in spite of this progression in the bulk of phenomena studied, the same concepts are applied in one realm after the other without any serious objection. The use of stimulus and response, we take it therefore, needs no elaborate apologetic as we are imploying them, providing they be interpreted in the light of concrete behavior data.

Multiple Stimulus, Response, and Condition of the Subject and the Recognition given them in Chapters I-X.—It is not to be assumed that this technique has any magical power for reducing the complexity of human behavior. Multiple stimulus, multiple response,[12] and the multiple condition of the subject are almost ineradicable. Furthermore, habit, or, acquired reaction systems, may give place in time of uncertainty or conflict to the direct operation of innate bio-psychological tendencies of many kinds[13] — if, in fact, it does not occur at other times also. Thus the problem of tracing stimulus-responses sequences, or, arcs, of behavior becomes one of reducing by artificial controls the volume of phenomena to be observed, as is done in laboratory experimentation; or, of selecting circumstances where the volume is already reduced or centralized; and of confining observation to certain aspects of the total situation. In other words, there is substituted for laboratory control of a situation *the selection of a situation where the milieu acts as a control.*

"PREPOTENT" STIMULI.—Speaking generally, we present certain cases for analysis where there is practically no question that

Christian propaganda has been the only novel factor (*stimulus*) introduced into the ordinary life of a community or individual; in others, of course, a whole stream of alien forces have entered. The circumstances under which Watson seems to have studied the reactions of babies are scarcely more controlled by artificial means than some of our cases are by natural isolation from disturbing influences.[14] The furry animal which he brought before the infants was by no means the only stimulus at work upon them; yet it was undoubtedly the "prepotent" stimulus, to use an expression from Thorndike's law of partial or piecemeal activity;[15] and Watson seems beyond criticism in attributing changes that occur almost immediately in the child's curiosity, fear, or other reactions, to the presence of the animal. No less definite, it is our claim, is the prepotency of the missionary's gold tooth in the case where a preacher's most attentive listener was a non-Christian—it came out later—absorbed in curiosity about the tooth of precious metal! Similarly the prospect of having a God who promised houses and lands to his worshippers, functioned as the prepotent appeal to the poverty-stricken Mrs. Ma, according to her own naive testimony. In such cases — and our endeavor has been to select such cases for analysis, where feasible — the operation of minor factors in the total field of stimulation are by no means eliminated any more than they are in "experiments" with rats in a food maze, with babies, or with school children; yet for practical purposes they are made negligible by either controlled or accidental circumstances that allow a single factor to dominate the attention of the subject.

ISOLATING DOMINANT RESPONSES FOR DESCRIPTION.—Multiple response is handled in the same way as multiple stimulus: situations are chosen for analysis where the activity of the subject is dominated by specific responses (which in turn are more or less clearly traceable to propagandic stimuli). This principle is applied in experiments and tests made upon all living organisms. Hungry white rats running the maze in an experiment on their learning ability are not scrutinized for the myriad of incidental movements they make: one or two items such as the time required

or the number of blind allies they enter on each succeeding experiment, are all the animal psychologist is concerned with, unless some unusual behavior is seen. Infants reacting to ice water, to furry animals, etc., were photographed with a moving picture camera by Watson; yet in systematizing an account of those reactions, there had to be selection in the same way as in recording the white rats' reactions. The types or units of response which are selected, depend upon the problem in the mind of the observer. In the case of the rat, it was the learning ability; in the case of the infants, original responses to specific stimuli; in the case of the non-Christian, responses to Christian propaganda. In this latter field, we are particularly interested in cases where the initial appearances of propaganda, or some detail of it, evokes either an inherited (unlearned and instinctive) reaction, such as curiosity (Cf. Chapter III) or an acquired (learned and habitual) reaction transferrred for the first time from some familiar stimulus-response-sequence to this new stimulus. The *inherited* curiosity response to the initial discovery of the missionary's gold tooth and Mrs. Ma's *acquired* habit of taking advantage-of-any-opportunity-for-economic-help functioning in response to the *news* that the-Christian-God-was-the-giver-of-houses-and-lands — these are cases in point. Still, reactions to propaganda or some aspect of it, observed only after they have become habitual response patterns, are also utilized continually, as in the case of many a nationalist's prolonged opposition to Christianity out of fear for the security of his own position or his group's dominance.

REVIEW OF CHAPTERS I-X FROM THIS STIMULUS-RESPONSE POINT OF VIEW.—Our interest in the above cases of response is due to the fact that the data presented in them allows a sensing of the stimulus-response sequence responsible for them. The same interest determines our procedure with large masses of data. Chapters I-VIII are chiefly occupied, from the methodological point of view, with the gradual selection and classification of responses in such a way as to allow a sensing of the stimulus-response sequences responsible for them. In the first chapter,

we apply a very general criterion of selection in order to get a perspective over the different responses to propaganda, which will suggest more specific or sub-criteria: approvingness toward Christian-missions-regardless-of-separate-aspects-of-them is used as the basis for arranging responses in a scale from violent disapproval to precipitate approval. An excursus is then made into the subject of group-relationships-as-a-conditioning-factor, on this same first level of selection (Chapter II). And, still on the first level, a second vertical criterion is applied: the initial and temporary responses are separated out from the more permanent ones (Chapter III).

In so doing the assumption is made that, in the brief period before habitual reactions are formed toward any new object, the responses to it may come directly from tendencies quite unlearned and instinctive, or they may come from habits formed earlier in response to other situations and now brought into play as responses to this peculiar situation for the first time, because it has certain things in common with the previous situations that controlled its formation.[16] (This assumption was made, however, only after some of the data seemed to have unmistakable earmarks of original responses to instinctive tendencies.) The analyses of initial and temporary responses in Chapter III, therefore, actually take us to a deeper level of classification, a level where stimulus-response sequences are tested not by mere approvingness to Christian propaganda, but by criteria provided in our knowledge of certain instinctive stimulus-response-arcs—that knowledge being taken for granted in accordance with such research as that utilized in Watson's *Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist* and in Thorndike's *Original Nature of Man*.[17]

In the further subdivision of the more permanent responses, we face the question of whether we can immediately drop to this same level of selection — viz., that where the criteria are instinctive stimulus-response patterns that have been ascertained in experiments with animals and infants — with any degree of success. Now aside from the prejudice against interpreting

human behavior in terms of "unconscious" motives, complex habits are very different to analyze from unlearned reactions: for there are practical difficulties in the way such as we describe in Appendix II and Chapters VII and VIII. Only if classifications on intermediate levels fail to reveal the stimulus-response sequences essential to comprehending what takes place, are we justified in attempting the more difficult task without an abundance of biographical and concrete data which we do not yet have. Popular sociological categories are therefore tried out as an intermediate level of classification (Chapters IV-VI). They are found deficient. Hence, with clues taken from outstanding aspects of the data on hand,* instinctive tendencies found under more controlled study of animals and humans are arranged in a few primary groupings in Appendix II[1s] so as to afford criteria for analysis on the deeper level. A rather elaborate illustration is given of the applicability of one of these groupings in Chapter VII. Their applicability to non-approving, more permanent responses in general is sketched in Chapter VIII; they are applied without any preliminaries to approving, more permanent responses in Chapters IX and X.

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*One of the first clues to a more adequate analysis, was the fact that a great many of the non-approving responses—responses *to* alien mores, responses *by* vested interests, responses *of* nationalistic sentiments, etc.,—seemed to be fundamentally *self-protective* in their actual operation. Some non-Christian groups shut their doors; some entrenched themselves; some returned the attack by a counter-offensive aimed at getting rid of the intruder. And Chapter VII shows how these self-protective responses were tentatively gathered as such, immediately after this clue was found. About the same time the pronounced effects upon preconverts of strong disapproval by a non-Christian group, of special friendly attention by the Christian group, of opportunities within Christianity for rising to a higher status, of esteem in the eyes of a Deity-thought-of-in-personal-terms,—these seemed to point unmistakably to a class of persistent *susceptibilities to the attitudes of others*. In the third place, the openness to an alien movement shown by vigorous spirits among non-Christian youth, the acceptance of Christianity by certain men of leadership among primitive tribes, etc., pointed to the operation of *expansive, assertive tendencies* in the individual.

As the self-protective tendency loomed up, its instinctive basis in man naturally came to mind—and also the instinctive retreat and attack in animals' behavior and even the tropic self-protection of plants—and data upon it were critically examined. The second and third classes of reactions were similarly compared with what is known of instinctive tendencies. And thus the four major groupings of urges, or tendencies-to-respond-with-certain-patterns, were gradually selected as functional groupings of prime importance in our analysis of responses to propaganda.

BIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL CONDITION OF THE SUBJECT NOT TO BE IGNORED.—It will be seen now that in our attempt to get past the difficulties which multiple stimulus, multiple response, and the multiple condition of the subject put in our way, we at last take over from biology and psychology an analysis of the *subject* into inherited tendencies-to-respond-to-certain-inner-conditions-or-outer-stimuli-with-inherited-*types*-of-reaction.* These inherited types of reaction are grouped according to a functional or teleological classification:† they are identified on the basis of their facilitation of nutrition or reproduction, of general activity or expression, of self-regard, of self-protection, or of some other end-result—emotions of fear and anger, etc., being clues that aid in identification because of their organic connection with specific groupings. It will be remembered that the presence in the living organism of these functional tendencies was one of the main reasons that made us employ the terms stimulus and response as tools of analysis in preference to the terms cause

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*These physio-psychological categories are drafted into service in groupings which make them *amenable to social analysis*, as seen in the above footnote, without necessitating, for the time being, a discussion of technical points on which specialists differ. See footnote on 512.

†It is becoming popular amongst a certain group of professed objectivists, to deride functional classifications on the ground that each classifier favors his own classification! (E.g., Knight Dunlap, "The Identity of Instinct and Habit," *Journal of Philosophy*, XIX (1922), 85-93.) The validity of such reasoning may be seen by applying it to these objectivists themselves in matters where they differ amongst themselves or differ from other groups —each favoring his own peculiarities of classification!

If functional classification, as a principle, is to be tried out fairly, we assume that it should be approached through a *characterization of the types of behavior which give expression to different urges*. That is obviously difficult and *calls for preliminary hypotheses*. To the mind of the writer, such questions as "How far fear and danger are linked up with protective behavior," is the sort of problem that warrants experiment and critical observation and reasoning, not derision coupled with abandonment of the possibilities of *explaining* individual and group behavior. When the use of stimulus and response technique upon objective behavior enables us to get into this realm of *motive* without the use of hypotheses regarding functional urges, we shall be ready to forego such hypotheses. The procedure by which psychologists have substituted "laws of learning" for hypotheses regarding innate tendencies to learn in such and such ways, is one of definition, classification, and experiment. Since instinctive urges are found in behavior which is new in ensemble, though having habitual elements in it, we should follow similar procedure of painstaking definition, of setting up stimulating situations for observation, and of recording reactions to natural situations, to tests, and to experiments. Observation and experiments already carried on with fear and anger, recognition, rivalry, etc., certainly do not warrant abandoning the attempt. (See ref. 31 & 32 at end of App. I, and Appendix II, p. 543 and footnotes.)

and effect. The point is that those tendencies operate throughout concrete behavior, conditioning it continually. Stimuli may be got rid of; response-patterns may be repressed, disconnected from their instinctive relationships, broken down, or allowed to fall into disuse; but the bio-psychological tendencies of the organism keep in operation. The place they show themselves comparatively naked is in the process of conflict and adjustment, as asserted above, such as we are now studying.* These we regard as valid conclusions from bio-psychological investigations and from modern psychopathology.

This fact, once granted, has to be fitted in with ways of classifying the adjustments and other concrete facts of human behavior in general. If not deliberately fitted in with them, it will continually hamper thorough explanation. This principle is granted on the objective level where classifications of unmeasurable traits neglect measurable ones.† We assert it also where classifications of behavior data in terms of the objective aspects of habit, neglect the urges fixed and omnipresent in human nature: those classifications will clash with bio-psychological ones which are functional and as such combine description with explanation: this fact indeed, is the thing that makes the "popular sociological categories" of non-approval used in Chapters IV to VI unsatisfactory and those in Chapters IX and X more suitable. If we attempt to get out of the predicament by choosing terms merely describing external behavior (and disregarding bio-psychological urges), we shall find ourselves choosing a descriptive classification in preference to a descriptive-*and*-explanatory one suitable for analyzing behavior

*This is important. In cases where habitual modes of giving approval to a non-Christian are suspended by his group because he attends Christian worship, and disapproval is substituted for them, he is the more likely to exhibit his need of approval by obvious attempts to secure it in new directions. The same phenomena of losing one satisfier and seeking a substitute holds in a case of protective magic, or magico-religious technique, etc.

†"Business leaders, social workers, educators, moral directors, are continually publishing personal analysis charts. The same criticism can be made of one and all: the traits chosen are not psychologically basic; they represent complexes of habits (neatness, tact, and the like) rather than truly fundamental aspects of personality." (444) Allport, G.W. "Personality and Character," *Psychological* Bulletin, XVIII (1921), 441-445.

processes in terms of agencies, conditions, and consequent happenings.

Modified Objectivism to Include Motivation, versus Behaviorism.—The criticism which certain objectivists make of the position taken in the two preceding paragraphs, is that we overlook the significance of the stimulus-response mode of accounting for behavior. Using data conforming to it, we are told, would prevent the clash of purely objective categories with any innate tendencies that may exist, and at the same time would avoid the pitfall of positing mystical sets of urges: for stimulus-response accounts must *ipso facto* conform to whatever innate tendencies-to-respond there may be. Hypothetically it should. Actually, the disentangling of the objective stimulus and response involved in a certain concrete act, is not sufficient to guarantee its classification in a way that would not clash with urges. A Moslem and a low caste Hindu may both stop to listen to a Christian missionary — here the overt stimulus and the overt response are the same, note, — but one may do it in order to find arguments to attack (a protective urge, if resentment or fear is present) and the other may do it to find a means to higher status (urge for greater recognition). Ah, yes, we may be told, but if you had the stimulus-response history of these men, you would not make this mistake. Very well, then, when we have such detail on the individual (a tremendous task!) we may dispense with the urges stated as we now use them. They are avowedly hypotheses, serving time until behaviorism covers the whole field of behavior, if it can, with its accounts of stimulus-response arcs.

Our proposal, therefore, is that the bio-psychological tendencies be made *the starting point* of categories for classifying the material of concrete behavior. They are to provide the primary classification of it, although its *objective, ideological, and affective details may determine sub-classifications* (as is done in Chapters IX and X). This arrangement is distinctly a compromise with those who accept a modified objectivism but are wary of positing urges: considered strictly as a means of classification, it should be acceptable as a basis for assorting novel and habitual

behavior which all but the extreme objectivists acknowledge; others may consider it as an urge-explanation, in addition. Certain phenomena, for instance, may be classified as protective by both; but be regarded as due to a set of innate protective tendencies only by the second group. Furthermore, the sub-classifications employ more and more detail of the response patterns. For example, man's equipment with an inherited tendency to protect his person (and, thence, interests that are part of his "self," psychologically speaking), affords a starting point for interpreting various kinds of retreat and counter-attack (the response) immediately following any kind of assault or deprivation (the stimulus); yet the "Adjustment and Re-definition of Norms and Beliefs" under an emotional strain, affords a sub-classification under self-protectiveness based on certain objective activity accompanied by fear reactions (Chapter X).

"SUBSTITUTION" OF STIMULUS AND RESPONSE NECESSITATES GENETIC HISTORIES AND IDENTIFYING IDENTICAL FUNTIONAL ELEMENTS.—The various adjustment mechanisms of the human organism which make it difficult to discover the functional import of behavior in the sense we have indicated, must be understood (Appendix II, section 1). *Substitution of stimulus or response*, for instance, allows the primary physical expression of certain urges to give place to a *secondary expression* of them through roundabout means. As explained by Watson and Woodworth, following Pavlow and Bechterew, the associating of a second factor with an original stimulus-to-a-certain-response, may result in making that second factor function in place of the previous one, thus of its own accord arousing the response.[19] This substitution of a second stimulating factor for the previous one may be carried on and on until a (dinner) bell or a rap on the floor sets one's saliva flowing copiously and makes one start for the door, much to the bewilderment of a visitor who does not know what urge is associated with the bell. Before discovering that self-regard compels a man to cling to one habit, or self-protectiveness to cling to another, it may take,

from the behaviorist point of view, a complete genetic account of the habit in question as it developed in his childhood, or it may take, from our point of view, but a single illuminating confession. Not infrequently a convert or missionary biography provides us with accounts of the formation of characteristic modes of behavior, as well as direct glimpses into their motivation.

The prime difficulty in using categories of function may be stated in this way; though derived from a description of concrete responses to concrete stimuli,[20] their concrete aspect is largely sloughed off in the very definition of the category; and when they are used in social analysis, the subsuming of further concrete behavior under them is often a matter requiring delicate inferences as to its functional significance. For instance, the self-protective urge which is easily seen in an infant's angered striking back with fist or foot, may have to be applied in policed society to resentful but disguised intrigue aimed at displacing a man from his position in economic activity, government, school, or church. Inasmuch as this theoretical statement of the problem is seen (Appendix II and Chapter VII) and grappled with much more effectively after the presentation and analysis of data (Chapters I-VI), we need not go into it thoroughly here. Instead, (i) we submit the above statement of it — viz., as a problem of identifying identical functions in different series of concrete behavior; (ii) we present our own practical handling of data throughout the volume as an emergency *modus operandi* for employing it; (iii) and we offer a few suggestions on methods which have been proposed or used to solve it.

Among the suggestions we would make for lessening the difficulty, the first is that an elaborate inductive study should be made of identical elements in different concrete situations which seem to be covered by the same urge category. The difficulty may also be attacked through biographical study of the behavior of individuals from infancy on up to maturity so exhaustive as to trace out each substitution of stimulus and each substitution of response — which allows a linear or historical study of identical elements — as proposed by the behaviorists. Even a critical

but less exhaustive study of the antecedents of particular types of behavior which one desires to analyze[21] and of the biography as a whole,[22] may lessen the obstacles to analysis. They can be lessened also by a critical use of introspective testimony regarding the motives actuating some individual on occasions of a special sort, as we have indicated above. When, therefore, it is charged that we are taking for granted the desirability of an analysis that (i) takes into account human motives, desires, wishes, and urges, (ii) which are essentially obscure, we admit the former with Thomas and Znaniecki, Williams, and others, but deny that the obscurity of such forces is insurmountable. *By studying identical elements, the correlation of stimulus and response, etc. in such ways as these, there is hope of bridging the chasms between "subjective" and "objective."* Larger and larger use may be made, *in the meantime*, of classes and species comprising the objective phenomena in which different subjective urges may exhibit themselves. (E.g., Chapters VII, IX and X.)

Principle of the Limitation of Possibilities.—It was intimated that when any interpretation is made of either the subject's stimulus-response patterns directly *per se* or the roundabout ways in which one particular stimulus becomes linked with one particular response, it should be made in view of laws, trends, or critical hypotheses regarding bio-psychological modes of adjustment: laws of learning, tendencies toward "rationalization" and "compensation" mechanisms, etc., as discovered in research with psychopathic patients, children, and special types, may provide valuable clues to the arrangement and interpretation of data. Individual differences in capacity, urge, and the learning and adjustment processes are also vital, though in the present study we are primarily concerned with orientation in phenomena that is representative of classes or types.

While calling attention to the way in which a knowledge of the subject's innate bio-psychological urges and tendencies to adjust itself, may aid in analysing his stimulus-response sequences, we should not forget the cultural medium through which one

reacts. It is employed as feet and hands of the subject. The tools one has, the language he uses, the group organization he works through, delimit the nature of his response just as his hands and physio-psychological mechanisms do, and may give clues to the stimulus-response sequences in which they are included. We know how a physical substance can bend only a certain extent without breaking, or be exposed to only certain extremes of temperature without losing its consistency; a hand can do only certain kinds of things; a physiological organ like the ear can record sounds only within a certain range; the possibilities of a psychological capacity like learning ability is limited by a number of factors. Goldenweiser contends that there are similar limits in the possibilities of a whole range of cultural products, including even social organizations and kinds of belief.[23] If one believes in spirits, for instance, the possibilities range from polytheism at one end to monotheism on the other. Whatever the natural "limitation of possibilities" — in a substance, a subject's physio-psychological mechanism, a social situation, or a logical sequence in mathematical or other ideologies — the knowledge of these possibilities should be of value in delimiting any problem and the range of reactions which may occur. The point we should note in addition is that, if certain of these forms are found to satisfy particular bio-psychological urges of the individual or group, close attention should be paid to the correlation of these urges with other forms of the same cycle or grouping.

The demand for a concrete orientation in the agencies, conditioning forces, and consequent happenings of missions has now led us to consider in some detail various ways of getting their phenomena under control. Since orientation in social and behavior processes requires the tracing of forces and not merely a description of external events, certain difficulties created by multiple stimulus, multiple response, and the multiple condition of the subject affected, have been faced. The control possibilities of natural circumstances and the necessity of attention to prepotent factors have been noted. The ignoring of motivation

and of all real explanation is regarded as the alternative of utilizing man's ineradicable functional tendencies. They are therefore accepted as the basis of a primary classification of experience data, with leeway for more objective references in secondary classifications restricted within the "limitation of possibilities" in each case.

2. SUPPLEMENTARY OBJECTIVE: ANTICIPATION OF COMPARABLE UNITS, QUANTITATIVE ENUMERATION, CORRELATION, AND OBJECTIVE STANDARDS FOR MEASUREMENTS OR TESTS.[24]

(Abstract:—Laying aside behaviorism's claims, our study suggests types and correlations which a modified objectivism can exploit with sufficient data. More precise definition of categories and units is necessary before these types and correlations measure up to the standard of behavior tests now being devised in psychological research. Even these will not obviate the necessity for concrete orientation, however.)

Requirements of Behaviorism.—The main purpose of our study has been stated as orientation in the agencies, conditions, happenings, and processes that go to make up the story of Christian propaganda. In spite of the wide variety of factors and sequences to be found, some of the descriptive conclusions and some of the analyses that are presented to give this orientation, may not be supported when more exact data are secured. It is expected that misinformation, partial records, and misinterpretation will be corrected. Yet, accuracy in *description* is unattainable without photographic and phonographic reproduction. Accuracy in *analysis* of even one individual's behavior is unattainable without exhaustive knowledge of stimulus-response sequences during the individual's history, a division of them into units that can be treated in quantitative and correlating studies,* and an inductive correlation of them.

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*See Hollingworth's *Judging Human Character.*

One of the most easily observable illustrations of this in the social field is found in an anthropological study of *The American Indian* by Clark Wissler (see especially chap. xix, "Correlation of Classifications," chap. xx, "Theories of Culture Origin"). The material it uses, of course, is not the elusive behavior material which comprises most of our data. See his *Man and Culture* for a general statement. See, however, Boas' paper on "Limitations of the Comparative Method."

Illustrative Units for Quantitative Study and Comparison.— So much for the accuracy of a hypothetical behaviorism. Short of this there are many ways in which the behavior recognized by a modified objectivism — actions, beliefs, and attitudes (or sentiments) — can be reduced to units allowing statistical enumeration, comparison, and correlation (double comparison). And, to such an extent as to open up problems and points of attack, and in general contribute toward a critical analysis. The statement quoted from missionary sources that the majority of those who have entered the church group have done so during middle age or after, and that they cannot read or write, is an instance. This is the sort of phenomena subject to statistical treatment everywhere, though of course it does not tell us anything about either the significance of illiteracy or the implications of church membership. The summary given of the main doctrines believed by most missionaries is bound to be less definite because of the difficulty of setting criteria for the connotation of the expressions in which the doctrines are couched. A number of rough quantitative statements analogous to these two, are offered in the form of problems; the devising of comparable units of a more and more objective nature is necessary before analysis and quantitative study can carry them much farther with profit. The suggestion, on the other hand, that the prospects of economic betterment and higher social status seems to have a large place in attracting non-Christians, can doubtless be made more definite without much difficulty if attainable facts are gathered. Our summary conclusions, however, will be found relatively free from generalizations on even such subjects as this. For, conclusions on the comparative influence of different considerations in attracting and repelling non-Christians, assume that the different considerations are identifiable and precisely distinguishable, and have been employed quantitatively as categories in analysing subjects over given areas—neither of which is true. It surely can be taken for granted that except so far as units of behavior are avowedly applied over specified areas in accordance with the demands of statistical procedure, all

statements regarding the prevalence of phenomena are tentative and hypothetical.[25]

Some Illustrative Correlations.—Along with enumeration of traits and differentials, or, single comparisons, to discover the prevalence of a given type, it will be noted that our studies anticipate the use of double comparison, or, correlation. Strictly speaking, of course, to prove that all the converts in a given community were literate, would mean to establish a complete positive correlation between Christian-ness and literacy for the Christians in the community: or to prove that they were all illiterate would mean to establish a complete negative correlation between Christian-ness and literacy in that same group — obviously the correlation between *non*-Christian-ness and literacy would be a fact that would prevent certain possible misinterpretations of such a record, although it would not prove the nature or value of literacy. And the statistical recording of sub-types within the "convert" type may be quite serviceable if it allows greater accuracy for comparisons with similar correlations among non-Christians. If made, of course, such comparisons must be worked out according to usual statistical procedure.

There is a much larger field for the examination of correlations than the comparison of Christian and non-Christian communities — a problem, incidentally, which is apropos of a later study rather than the present one. The very second chapter, "The More Permanent Responses as Conditioned by the Nature of the Subject's Group and Group Relationships," opens up one of significance for Christian propagandists, non-Christian communities, and sociological research; viz., the correlation between integration-within-a-complex-social-organization and active-receptivity-toward-the-alien-Christian-group. The chief deficiency in the problem as presented there is the definition of complex social organization. Criteria on this point should become more definite as data is gathered. Again, Chapter XII on "Group Influences" in the transition process, brings up the pro-

blem of what correlation exists between the group-options which the pre-convert actually considers when he is pressed by the propagandic forces, and the final solution of his predicament. This is one of the correlations which will doubtless be found significant in explaining the credulity, apparent ideality, and other characteristics of early converts as well as various group attitudes of those who reject Christianity at this point.

Units for Measurement being Devised in Applied Psychology.—The study of types and correlations cannot be carried much farther than the prospector stage without a quantity of data that is detailed and accurate enough to allow much closer definition of the class categories and the units which provide bases for comparison. The deficiency in the questions asked in Annett's and Webster's questionnaires,[26] is their lack of precision, although the results obtained by them certainly provide a better orientation than we had previously in the respective fields covered. It is not necessary to repeat here the advantages and shortcomings of questionnaires in general. Under such captions as "the verbal-report method," "the word-association method," etc., they seem to be holding their own when remodelled so as to call for more objective data.[27] With them Pohlman has secured accounts of children's ideas of God and other religious symbols, containing surprisingly objective material.[28] From Jung's *Studies in Word-Association* we have now travelled to association tests for college freshmen intended to disclose the strength of different instinctive tendencies.[29] Tests in general have advanced by leaps and bounds. Of late the movement toward objective tests for human behavior has gone beyond the field of the senses, the learning of classroom studies, the "intelligence tests," "performance tests" (as used in vocational and industrial psychology), and tests for special aptitudes (such as musical ability).[30] The influence of being observed (compare our category of self-regard) has been noted in controlled experiments.[31] The effect of rivalry (compare same) has been made the object of experiment.[32] "Character traits" are being taken up by men

trained in the use of experimental and testing technique.[33] And the student of human behavior may look forward to an increasing number of tests applicable to his field.

Persistent Need of Concrete Orientations.—In time objective tests will rectify many of the errors in such tentative analyses as our orientation presents, as well as add conclusions on the prevalence and inter-relation of different traits. At the same time it is scarcely conceivable that objective and statistical studies will obviate the necessity of concrete orientation,[34] as we remarked above. Many relationships and characteristics will be exceedingly difficult to reduce to measurement for some time to come, to say the least. And the only way of offsetting gross misinterpretation of statistical data will have to be comprehensive but minute behavior investigation and critical analysis.

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APPENDIX II

MOTIVATION AND CAUSAL SEQUENCE:

Basis for the Adoption of a New Procedure in Chapters VII-X

(Psychological Criticism of the First Analysis of Non-Approving Behavior, and the Bio-psychological Foundations of Further Analyses)

In Chapters V and VI, contradictions between the two clashing sets of mores, special attitudes involving group disapproval, social organization, professional guardianship and other vested interests, interpretations and methods used in propaganda—all these are given as conditions responsible for the rejection of Christianity by those who do not submit to the propagandists' institution. It is significant to note that when given by the promoters of Christianity, they are offered as explanations for unfavorable responses by non-Christians. When given by the rejectors, their more prominent aspect may appear to be mere criticism or the raising of issues for discussion.

1. DIFFICULTIES HINDERING THE PSYCHOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF PROFESSED CAUSES OF NON-APPROVAL

Obscuring the Stimulus-Response Arc.—But when this much has been said, we find that further analysis is blocked by the limitations of these popular sociological classifications. We are hindered by the fact that as a group of categories they do not differentiate between the stimulating factors, the individual or group stimulated, and the response elicited. How can we ascertain the individual and group behavior responsible for the more permanent non-approving responses, unless we do differentiate between such factors as these: formal agents of provocative forces, actual irritants, individuals or groups affected by them, conditions of susceptibility in the individuals or groups, their general reactions, technique employed by them, etc. Briefly, these various factors operative in the stimulus-response arc must not be obscured if we are to secure anything like the scientific accuracy outlined in Appendix I.

"Difference in Mores," when claimed to be a consideration that erects a barrier between the propagandist and his possible followers, purports to be an interrupting irritant, or stimulus. But "Vested Interests" is a category that refers to the condition of a particular group of the subjects stimulated. "Group Attitudes" of antagonism, both traditional and temporary, are illuminating from individual and group viewpoints: they represent potential response-patterns of the group to certain patterns of stimulus; in the individual's group situation, therefore, they both condition his susceptibility to certain stimuli and set patterns for certain tendencies-to-respond which are involved. The same may be said of "Group Organization" except that the patterns for particular types of emotional and overt response are not necessarily present even in highly organized groups: the non-approving responses of some of these groups have contained considerable movement, feeling, and criticism, that seem random, or temporary trial and error. "Methods and Interpretations Employed by Propagandists," on the other hand, may at first be merely stimuli to non-Christians; later they may at the same time be the technique of response employed by both parties.

From the point of view of the stimulus-response situation, then our "Professed Causes and Occasions of Non-approving Behavior" are a heterogeneous list of factors representing no standpoint, no basis of classification, no schema.*

***Note on the Juxtaposition of Objective and Theoretical and of Objective and Psychological.**—The problem, then, is to extricate ourselves from a jumbling of the different factors in the total situation, caused by unscientific classification, and, at the same time, to get on a level where we can look at the non-approving adjustments to Christian propaganda from a viewpoint that is systematic and feasible.

First of all, it is assumed in view of the discussion in Appendix I, that such a viewpoint is assured through the use of stimulus-response sequences -which give due credit to conditioning factors in the stimulating objects, in the responding subjects, and in the environing milieu. This is stated explicitly because even among the professional students of society the stimulus-response relationship in any human situation is likely to be blurred over and pushed into the back-ground by selecting for scrutiny certain factors and phases of experience which neglect it, obscure it, or assume its complete inscrutability.

The anthropologists who study the obvious cultural implements, languages, ceremonials, rites, taboos, and prescriptions of conduct, and the social scientists who assemble statistics of obvious factors about population, industry, trade, and social groups –both would see value in a proposal for applying their objec-

Psychological Processes Making it Difficult to Identify Stimulus and Response.—There are very good reasons why students of society usually side-step the problem of a stimulus-response description of reactions when it is asked for. First of all, in the case of many an item among the "secondary explanations" and occasions of non-approving behavior, those who advanced it may admit confidentially that in itself it is not of primary significance, or that it is presented mainly as a means of weakening their opponents rather than as an explanation of some aspect of their general non-approval.

One would expect this in such cases as that of the Hindu lad's father we gave in the text (p. 220) or, in cases where a group employs one device after another to rebuff an intruder, as the Anarchist group did, in India:

"So far as can be seen at present, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, a member of the sept of Brahmans that led and governed the Marathas, formed the earliest centre of the propaganda known as anarchism. The Anti-cow-killing agitation already referred to was one of several experiments which he tried in seeking to rouse his people to energetic political action; but in 1895 he organized a great celebration of the birthday of Sivaji, the chieftain who,

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tivo criteria to studying certain of the more obvious aspects of the differing mores, of the social organization, of the activities of vested interests, and of the methods of propaganda. But here is where many stop. Some say that all else is mere theory. Others say that we must exclude "psychological" explanations. The former overlook the theoretical premises of their work, as Sorenson claims ("A Criticism of Scientific Method as Applied by Sociologists," *Journal of Philosophy, etc.*, I, 141-148.); the latter assume either the futility of psychologizing, or the adoption of an extreme type of behaviorism which, as Thomas and Znaniecki show (*The Polish Peasant*, III, 23), would make the elucidation of social interactions impossible. Neither really grapple with human motivation as represented in the problems of human needs and their gratification through the paraphernalia of society. The vital point is that, as the so-called behaviorists have shown, *the description of reaction-systems* through the recording of definite stimuli and overt responses, *includes the objective field and overlaps what is called the "psychological field."* It allows repudiation of a semi-mystical "psychological" which may be used by students of society either as a catch-all of unassorted material or a container of easy popular explanations. Even a modified objectivism such as this study calls for (cf. Appendix I), requires that patient studies of stimulus-response situations be undertaken and that in such studies preference be given to behavioristic material. Such is necessary if sociological research is to produce results.

We assume, then, that the juxtaposition of theoretical and objective, and of psychological and objective should be overhauled. So far as possible stimulus-response explanations should be substituted for those which neglect this fundamental sequence, and behavioristic data should be secured where possible.

in the latter half of the seventeenth century, made the Maratha tribes an iron army and a united nation to resist the Muhammadans. This wide-spread commemoration of the Maratha leader in 1895 is significant, because in it for the first time all the features of the Extremist propaganda stand out clear; and there is unquestionable proof that it contained the poison of anarchy; for within two years it worked itself out in murder in the streets of Poona."[1]

But even where one pretends to state causes of non-approval to the best of his ability, what degree of accuracy can be expected? There is no use in mincing words here. Our conclusions will be misleading and futile unless we take into account the psychology of explaining one's conduct for purposes of apology, defense, and other ends.

RATIONALIZATION INEVITABLE.—The underlying difficulty is the tendency of man to offer reasons for specific conduct when he knows very little about the real conditions and causes of most of it. As a self-aware being he tends to accept and devise reasons for his actions with utmost naivete. Yet anthropological findings, the calculated history of the mind, the analyses of mental processes, socio-psychological studies, and the study of the "sub-conscious" through hypnotism, psychotherapy, and psychoanalysis, all show us that his ordinary explanations are virtually bound to be "secondary" ones, or, "rationalizations." This must be absolutely clear before we go further.

". . . .We pride ourselves on following the dictates of reason and carrying out our carefully weighed convictions. The fact which is taught by anthropology,—that man the world over believes that he follows the dictates of reason, no matter how unreasonably he may act,—and the knowledge of the existence of the tendency of the human mind to arrive at a conclusion first and to give the reason afterwards, will help us to open our eyes; so that we recognize that our philosophic views and our political convictions are to a great extent determined by our emotional inclinations, and that the reasons which we give are not the reasons by which we arrive at our conclusions, but the explanations which we give to our conclusions."[2]

The mind has evolved for choosing between exterior objects or behavior (in situations where there is an option between different objects or modes of behavior, or where the organism is obstructed), not for interpreting behavior in terms of the organic instincts and the motivating mechanisms at work in his glands and nerve fibres. At best we have learned to be aware of a very small part of the stimuli and responses interacting in any of our instinctive and habitual behavior.* In the very nature of things our ordinary explanations are loaded with interpretations that are incorrect. Introspection cannot possibly go very far by itself; yet for reasons we cannot attempt to discuss here, we persist in rationalizing the motivating tendencies.†

SUBSTITUTION OF NEW STIMULI FOR OLD.—The principle of rationalization is supported and made inevitable by the very psychological process which makes significant certain things that were previously insignificant; for it is clear that the object or point of counter-attack may take on a provocative or stimulating aspect, even if it has none at first. For instance, the Christian doctrine of the Trinity and the New Testament sanction of wine drinking may be so enlarged upon and emotionalized for their effectiveness in discrediting the propagandists, that the contending parties may come to regard them, no matter how merely theoretical and extraneous, as vital—they then become actual stimuli. Undoubtedly this has been the history of many a Christian doctrine, and of many things in any religion or sect that have been objects of dispute and

*"It is this development of consciousness as an *inner function*, the becoming aware of the central parts of our mental processes, of our cognitions and affects, and the consequent enrichment and consolidation of the conscious ego, which characterizes the later stages of mental evolution. This is the evolution of self-consciousness, as contrasted with the superficial consciousness which is of immediate utility in our relations with our surroundings and which mark the earlier stages of the growth of consciousness. Considerable tracts of these inner regions of the mind are normally left unexplored by introspection and never become conscious at all." Tansley, 42. See also chap. iv., "The Unconscious."

†For a summary statement of what is implied by the term "rationalization," see Tansley, chap. xv., 158 ff. The whole topic will come up for fuller recognition in a later volume where it is applied to the missionary.

conflict.* The prolonged centering of emotional reactions upon specific elements in the stimulating area, environment, or forces, builds up emotional complexes of disapproval about those foci until they in turn are no longer mere differences for comparison or issues for debate: they become symbols of depreciation, uncertainty, or insecurity; they become irritating stimuli, at least of a secondary sort. Then, if you as a group member, should assert that you entertain the objectionable practice or belief, you will bring down on yourself opprobium, hate, or pity. The explanation is that new stimuli have developed to act in place of old ones.

As Judd claims, certain previous stimuli which have been closely linked with the inception of certain attitudes may later become disorganized from them.[3] The emotional response-system (or attitude) remains. When we seek to explain its later appearance in reply to different stimuli, we devise "secondary explanations" which are likely to be unrelated or even contradictory to the original sequence of facts. The psychoanalysts would call this the displacement and segregation of an original component of a complex, and the later addition of a rationalization to the complex.[4] The behaviorist would fill in the gaps here and explain the entire phenomenon by the experimentally demonstrated process of associating a new stimulus with an old one which is actually evoking a certain response; and thus "conditioning" the new stimulus to the response-system evoked, and then of allowing the original stimulus to cease to function through disuse — "substitution of stimulus."† Together these explanations provide a serviceable way of envisaging the rise

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*E.g., see 224-226, etc.

†For a clear, succinct presentation, see Watson, *Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist*, 28 ff. and 211 ff.

Edward J. Kempf, in *The Autonomic Functions and Personality*, puts the position thus in summary form: "The law that autonomic functions, or affective cravings, become *conditioned* to react to ordinarily indifferent stimuli, because the latter have been coincidentally associated with the inherent primary stimuli of a particular autonomic function, is elaborated as the mechanism of the development of the personality and its individual characteristics, whether normal or abnormal." P., xiii d; see also pp. 56-76, and 139de.

of harmless, colorless differences into the rank of symbols of danger.

PREDETERMINATION: SELECTIVE TENDENCIES IN DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF HUMAN NATURE AND EXPERIENCE.—There is an undoubted significance for us in the fact that at any stage in the interpretation of a reaction-system, we tend to devise or accept those explanations of it which are psychologically acceptable to us. The way in which a person is compelled to interpret his environment in the light of his past experience is classically represented in the term "apperceptive mass." Accumulated experience tends to make things in his environment significant or insignificant, and attractive or unattractive, and thus tends, so to speak, to select stimuli from the environment for awareness, attention, and response.* Attention and response, however, imply more than mere awareness, and, in carrying the activity one step further, they introduce other restrictive, selective, and hence interpretative factors. The psychological axiom on attention declares that, "only one thing can be well attended to at once. . . .It means that when the energy or the 'attention' of the organism is thoroughly engaged in one activity, physical or mental, other activities do not prosper."[5] Now the way in which an individual's immediate emotion, project, purpose, or conviction—any definite response—tends to bar out from consideration things contrary to it, is quite familiar—the psychoanalysts taking it into the realm of the unconscious in a way quite significant for us.[6] We take up this tendency in a later volume and illustrate it by what we define as "the operative attitude." That is, when one is concerned in a given task, seeking testimony

*Years ago James said: ". . . .a man's ideas, aims and objects form diverse internal groups and systems. . . .Each aim which he follows awakens a certain specific kind of excitement, and gathers a certain group of ideas together in subordination to it as its associates. . . .When one group is present and engrosses the interest, all the ideas connected with the other groups may be excluded from the mental field." James, (A), 193.

Since then, "psychological settings" have been taken up, the psychological effect of "interests" and "interest" discussed, and conditions of attentiveness more precisely formulated. E.g., see Chapter II, section 2, p. 59, on "original attentiveness," and the footnote on the "explorative and investigative" tendency on p. 537 below.

to establish a certain contention, or given up to a certain driving emotion, the possible contradictory alternatives are inhibited: other projects, other facts and theories, other things soliciting appreciation or enthusiasm, tend to be given scant attention or to be suppressed; and should they be given any attention, only those aspects of them are likely to be noted, which facilitate the project in hand. The missionary, the promoter, and the partisan supporter usually have this operative attitude as well as definite apperceptive predispositions and propossessions. Explanations offered by promoters and partisans, therefore, must be judged in the light of this selecting aspect of dominant psychological states.

Now these psychological states may be due to the group's culture or influence as well as the individual's condition or activity. Traditional group attitudes, beliefs, and customary activities are inevitably selective, predetermining one's susceptibility to a great many stimuli and a great many explanations of behavior. A Moslem's behavior toward a Christian or a Christian's toward a Moslem is most likely to be taken over from his culture group. With such instances we have already dealt at length. To take a different sort of case, there may be in the group's mores a custom of ceremoniously with-holding one's real thought and attitude. Michie speaks for a great many foreigners in saying that a Chinese cannot (usually) be counted on to say what he thinks nor to give genuine reasons for his actions, so far as he perceives them. American candor and bluntness are improper in the eyes of any typical Oriental.

> ". . . .Dr. Brown had been invited by the Japanese Government to take charge of a boys' school. Though the engagement was for three years, at the end of eight months Dr. Brown was recalled, the local government professing inability to pay his salary. Since another teacher was at once employed at nearly the same sum, the real reason for the change was probably because Dr. Brown on Sundays taught the Bible to those that cared to study it. . . ." [This explanation seems beyond contradiction.][7]

The excerpts on experiences in Ceylon given earlier, corroborate this. Of course, such things are not unheard of in the West.

Certain innate psychological tendencies affect the susceptibility to stimulus and the direction of attention in devising explanation, in the same way as do accumulated experience, temporary psychological states, and various aspects of group culture. The Freudians' emphasis upon repression is one of the most salient recognitions of this factor. It is probably sufficient to point out that whatever may be true of the sex tendency which the orthodox stress so heavily, is also likely to be true to a considerable degree of other persistent bio-psychological drives or urges. It is much easier, for instance, to give rationalizations for our conduct of a sort that flatter us than of a sort that condemn us. Other such bio-psychological drives or aptitudes will come up as we proceed. The principle is the important fact. Thus the tendency of different aspects of our nature and experience to predetermine our susceptibility to certain stimuli and to certain explanations of behavior, is in league with the natural amateurishness of introspection and the natural deceptiveness of rationalization. They all make it difficult off-hand to identify stimulus, conditioning factors, and response, in specific situations.

2. OTPIONAL METHODS OF DESCRIPTION, ANALYSIS, AND INTERPRETATION; AND THE UTILIZING OF INHERENT BIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL URGES

Here, then, we find ourselves with a network of psychological tendencies and processes that prevent us from penetrating to the sources of non-approving responses. The capacity for rationalizing tends to make one's interpretation of what stimulates him to a given response, absolutely untrustworthy. The capacity of one's neurones to condition new responses upon old ones by sheer association, and then to dominate, shunt off, or eliminate the old ones, tends to make the immediate responses to a given stimulus, not only relatively unexplainable in the case of one individual, but different from the response of another individual to the same stimulus—and thus to make hazardous any general observations as to the kind of responses which are evoked by certain specific kinds of stimuli.

In this dilemma there seem to be *three* valuable methods which we may adopt in order to devolop an intelligent interpretation of the non-approving and other responses: One is the *intensive study of contemporaneous individuals or groups while they are reacting to certain known stimuli.* As the behaviorist technique shows us, it would be a huge task to obtain accuracy and scientific conclusions in the study of any one individual or group. A second method is *biographical study of the individual,* or historical study of a certain group.* The photographic and phonographic accuracy required in the first method, are of course forfeited by this one, and capital is made in a legitimate way of crises, adjustments, and habit levels. As a necessary preliminary to an intelligent use of this method, the investigator should be familiar with the technique required in such a study and should have a perspective over the sort of phenomena to be encountered —Thomas, Park, and their associates, for instance, presented effective immigrant biographies because of their familiarity with a suitable technique of study and with typical reactions of immigrants in all sorts of relevant situations.

Until these two types of investigation are made possible in a thoroughgoing way by extended gathering of data and study, research endowment, etc., a considerable amount of work can well be done to develop technique, open up perspective, raise questions, and set problems. For the time being, therefore, much of our preliminary study can profit by the use of a third method which does this by candidly *taking clues for interpreting data available, from the bio-psychological field and from the social sciences,*—youthful though these latter may be in their development of scientific technique. Inherent bio-psychological urges

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*Psychopathic institutes for some time have employed the personal history procedure to get a background for interpreting some immediate or recent behavior of an individual; hypnotists, psychotherapists, psychoanalysts, and consulting psychologists have done the same. Relief and charity organizations employ family histories also. But the use of the personal history in the study of group-psychological phenomena is somewhat different matter. Thomas and Znaniecki's *Polish Peasant,* III., "Life-Record of an Immigrant"; (Thomas,) Park, and Miller's *Old-World Traits Transplanted;* and Radin's *Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian* represent this aspect of the personal history document.

and social laws may form the basis of interpretation as tendencies-to-respond-in-certain-general-or-specific-ways. Against taking social laws as an aid to the study of any individual or group behavior, there would probably be no objection—except that there is no considerable body of critically accepted social laws!* Vindication of positing certain bio-psychological urges as an aid to the study of behavior, we cannot undertake here.† We shall aim, however, to demonstrate its serviceability.

Salient Bio-Psychological Urges: TENTATIVE GROUPINGS.—It is evident that bio-psychological urges lie in a field of controversy. It is the field of motivation in which innumerable amateur interpreters have delved; of instincts, which Thorndike appears to have attacked experimentally; of innate emotions, which Watson has scientifically investigated in infants; of the psychoanalysts' "libido," "sublimated" sex expressions, and "masculine protest"; and finally of the sociologists' "social forces."

Taking into perspective the whole range of studies from plant physiology and animal psychology to psycho-therapeutics, one can at least posit *a few fundamental groupings* of urges toward certain kinds of behavior, of needs for certain kinds of satisfaction. The following we offer *as a minimum* for interpreting human reactions.

The primal sets of urges which develop in the plant-animal scale, seem to be those bringing about nutrition, reproduction, and locomotion—each period of satisfying activity giving place

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*"At the present time sociology is largely a deductive science, if one can call an extensive and ill-defined body of knowledge a science. General principles have been deduced from the observations of a few students of human nature and these principles have been elevated into theories without sufficient inductive verification." Chapin, "The Elements of Scientific Method in Sociology," *Amer. Jour. of Sociol.*, XX (1914-1915), 371.

A more accurate notion of sociological findings may be secured by an examination of Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*. Here the baring of social relationships is stressed.

In economics and politics, the application of the scientific method is obviously limited as yet, outside of popular description and statistics on a very limited number of objective facts.

†That we have discussed on 202 ff., 512 ff., and 526 ff., and may take up later in a separate article, if it seems necessary. See especially 515d and ff.

to a period of cessation and relaxation in which organic preparation is made for further activity.*

(1) In man, therefore, we put as primary the *nutritive* and *reproductive urges* spoken of usually as the physical appetites.†

(2) Second, the *excess energy* which is observable in random movements and in locomotion connected with sustenance, reproduction, etc., *seems to involve an innate urge toward physical and mental activity in general.*** Specialized offshoots of *this general activistic or expressive urge* are seen in responses which are essentially (i) *explorative and investigative*,†† (ii) *acquisitive****

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*Introductions to botany and zoology, and accounts of comparative psychology such as those of Morgan, Washburne, Thorndike, and Watson will be helpful for a background here—Parmelee's *Science of Human Behavior* attempted to summarize findings in these fields which are relevant to the study of human behavior. One should be familiar at first hand, however, with such studies of the instinctive tendencies of man as those in Thorndike's *Educational Psychology*, Vol. I, "The Original Nature of Man," Watson's *Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist*, and Woodworth's recent *Psychology*. See Park and Burgess *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, chap. ii, "Human Nature," and chap. vii, "Social Forces."

†For the purposes of such analyses as we have in mind, there is at present no particular value in differentiating such a sub-urge towards nutrition as that for breathing and air-getting, nor of adding other physical behavior series, such as those of vocalization and "gross bodily control."

**It is suggestive to find Thorndike deriving an "instinct" of "multiform physical activity" and one of "multiform mental activity" from a "love of sensory life for its own sake," manipulativeness, and the "satisfyingness of mental control." Cf., of a popular nature, Karl Groos, *The Play of Animals* and *The Play of Man*.

††It is not necessary here to go into discussions regarding sensation and attention. It is probable, however, that within certain limits there is a tendency to find both familiar and fresh sensation satisfying; and that there is an "original attentiveness" (cf. Thorndike, also Woodworth, 244e.)—which is peculiarly responsive to things which are definite, large, striking, or novel in appearance, which have a forcefulness due to intensity, and which are recent in time. In thinking of the explorative aspects of the activistic or expressive tendencies, it may be helpful to conceive of the mechanisms of gross bodily control, of physical sensory capacities, of original attentiveness, and of activistic tendencies—to conceive of all as if they were in a scale. At the lower end of the scale a force or a situation outside of these mechanisms compels them to make adjustments; further up the scale, the tendency-to-act-without-compulsion operates through either habitual or new channels—this is where the activistic tendency appears; and at the upper end of the scale there appears the *specialized urge to seek new experience*—this is the explorative tendency in its accentuated form. Cf. W. I. Thomas, "The Gaming Instinct," *Amer. Jour. of Sociol.*, VI (1900-1901), 750-763.

***Under this heading there is naturally included the tendency toward behavior series described by Thorndike under the heads of "acquisition and possession" and "collecting and hoarding" except when he there includes activity belonging under our protective and other urges. Cf. the popular study of G. A. Tawney on *The Acquisitive Society*.

and (iii) *mastering.**

(3) Third, along with power of locomotion there appears early in the biological series a tendency to "shrink" or withdraw from injurious influences supplemented later by defensive responses and counter-attack. In full-blown form, we have *the bio-psychological imperative to protect oneself against molestation, against attack, against deprivation of possessions, and against uncertainty* as to either interference or the continued maintenance of satisfiers; the responses used include retreat, defense, and counter-attack to get rid of the source of annoyance; some degree of fear or rage accompanies them.†

(4) Fourth, with mobility and association with one's kind there appears innate susceptibilities to other beings. Gregariousness or the "herd instinct," is generally held to be a salient example, implying *an innate need for the mere presence of others.* Instinctive social reactions to the making or withholding of gestures of attention, particularly to approving or disapproving gestures, imply in addition *an innate need for being noticed and for being esteemed.*** Sheer convenience suggests grouping these together *under the general caption of urge for "recognition,"* though it may later prove best not to do so.

*Aside from forms usually treated under the captions assertiveness, will-to-power, etc., any tendency toward "teasing, tormenting, and bullying," or toward unprovoked fighting should be included in this group, doubtless. Note that we speak of mastering objects as well as men. Cf., in a popular vein, F. W. Nietzsche's writings.

There seems little question that "manipulation" may be a means either to mastering an object, or to exploring it when it is unknown, on or to both; that the solving of puzzles and "problems" utilizes both the explorative and mastering tendencies; and that "assertiveness" combines mastering behavior with what we speak of shortly as self-regard.

See footnote below on "rivalry and reinforcement" and bibliography in Park and Burgess on rivalry, p. 646, and on conflict, 645-660.

†See Edward J. Kempf, *The Autonomic Functions and Personality*, 49b, 53c, 79-80.

It will be noted directly that, psychologically speaking, possessions include objects, beliefs, and any group affiliations which are a part of the "self." Submissiveness seems to be a retreating type of behavior accompanied by fear. Resentment is undoubtedly a mild form of rage. Cf. Roy F. Richardson, *The Psychology and Pedagogy of Anger.*

**See especially Thorndike's account of "Responses to the Behavior of Other Human Beings"; Kempf, 93-95; and Park and Burgess, chaps, iii-v, and xiii. Cf. also Wilfred Trotter's popular *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War* and Charles H. Cooley's books.

Another factor now enters in. A man may eat food and at the same time think of it, or may perform a piece of work and at the same time think about it, without taking his "self" into consideration—especially if he is what psychologists call objective-minded, an "extravert"; but it is absolutely impossible, apparently, to be the object of contact, attention, and approval by others, and to think of it at all completely, without letting one's thought run right along to the object (one's self!) they are noticing.* In other words, *recognition is experienced not as recognition per se but as self-regarding recognition, or, self-regard.* Owing to this fact, some might prefer *to subsume the need for recognition under a need for self-regard.*

SOME IMPORTANT RELATIONSHIPS AMONG URGE SATISFACTIONS.—We do not say that eating and sleeping, working and wages, may not be connected with one's self-regard. For any adequate account of the "self" and of self-awareness shows that they may. Beginning in childhood, one comes to think of his hands and feet, his clothes, certain objects or possessions, certain achievements, certain individuals and group relationships, and even certain of his beliefs about his environment—*he comes to envisage all these with a self-feeling, making them veritable parts of his "self";*† *this means that the things satisfying his various urges are probably experienced primarily in a self-feeling form.* Now then, *so far as man is self-conscious* (*self-aware*) *with respect to these satisfactions*,—and he usually is, to some extent—, *these things form part of the content of his self-regard.* We are speaking here, be it remembered, of his possessions, his behavior, and his achievements. "Mastering" behavior, for instance, is usually found with the attitude of superiority, or self-esteem; and "submissiveness," shrinking, cringing, retreating, and fear behavior

*The psychology of this process whereby others become the medium through which one arrives at self-consciousness and social consciousness, has for years been taken up elaborately in social psychology lectures by Professor George Mead of the University of Chicago—although he might not acknowledge our statement of it. A typewritten transcription has been made from a student's private stenographic report of his lectures, it might be remarked.

†See the discussion of the "self" in William James' *Psychology.*

is usually found with the attitude of inferiority or self-depreciation. As Kempf says, "Nothing so quickly destroys an individual's potency as any cause of fear." Not only, then, is the urge for recognition usually experienced in the form of an urge for self-regarding recognition; but *self-regarding recognition and esteem may also result from possessions and achievements and general behavior which in turn are satisfying other urges.**

Another case of close association between different urges needs to be cleared up. Deprivation was one of the things said to stimulate an individual to make protective responses. Our point now is that, *in case of deprivation, the protective response are likely to be supplemented by* the bald appearance, re-exertion, and *re-inforcement of the urges which have been deprived of their satisfiers.* An infant whose toy is grabbed at, may scream and fight back, as Thorndike says, but it will also tighten its clutch on the toy; a college team whose record is threatened, will exert the greater energy to maintain it; the disputative person whose good name is impugned, will re-assert his claim to esteem.† In other words, it seems natural and necessary from the bio-psychological point of view that depriving an urge of its satisfiers, acts as a stimulus to incite the urge to (a more or less frantic attempt to) get satisfaction — a sufficiency. And some may even regard the protective responses as a supplementary aid to attain this same end. Confusion and delay in the restoring of satisfaction is a

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*Space prevents carrying this discussion further here. Suggestive analyses of the self and its social aspects may be found in Charles H. Cooley's *Human Nature and the Social Order*; in Arthur J. Todd's *Theories of Social Progress*, Part I, "Human Nature and Social Progress"; in Park and Burgess; etc.

†If this analysis is correct, *rivalry* (or, "envious and jealous behavior") *and reinforcement connected with it* may both be the protective outcome of "attack" upon one's self-esteem or other satisfiers:—

(i) (We assume a continual condition of self-esteem in *A*.)
(ii) Success or evidence of superiority in *B*, is construed by *A* as implying *A's* inferiority.
(iii) This involves a deprivation of *A's* prior self-esteem.
(iv) Against this, *A* acts protectively (a) with a slight resentment and (b) with a competitive attempt to put *B* out of his "superior" position—this attempt (c) involving a re-assertion of *A's* self-esteem and that in turn stimulating the expressive urge necessary to competitive activity.
(v) If *A* fails in the competition, his excuse for failing is likely to re-establish his self-esteem!

frequent result of such an emergency. But no matter how large one's means of satisfaction are, he inevitably defends them and may at the same time strive to increase them.

Other Important Facts as to Urge Satisfactions and their Identification: DIFFERENT DEGREES OF URGE, OR NEED.—This forces upon us the question of different degrees of "need." Temporary satisfaction in food and sex is easily reached by all, in spite of differences. The capacity for expression, recognition, and the self-regarding tendency on the other hand, seem limitless in some men — that is, urge seems always to be in excess of satisfaction — ; yet in others, they are fairly easy to satisfy. The latter class are likely to be called inert, but *inertia* may be due to low original vitality, to sheer fatigue or a physiological system clogged with food and tissue poisons, to fear of the losses that will come from change in the particular direction under consideration, or merely to the "caking" of habit at a low level of satisfaction. Scaling up from this extreme, however, it may be found that *most men crave, or are stimulated, beyond their ability to wrest satisfaction from their physical and human environment*, particularly amidst the deluge of advertisements to which the modern man is exposed.*

IMAGINATION AND EMOTION AS AVENUES FOR INDIRECT SATISFACTION OF THE URGES.—Of peculiar significance among people with an excess of urge, or, excess of stimulation to responsive urges, is man's ability to jump time and space and actual facts and values: by means of verbal and imaginative representations to himself, he can consider absent objects as belonging to himself in the future if not in the present, can consider achievements as of greater worth than they are, can apply characterizations to himself as coming from absent beings, future generation, fictitious persons, a psychologically con-

*Just what constitutes inertia, deficiency in satisfaction, or satiety, and what constitutes excess of urge or stimulation over satisfaction, are matters of individual habit and group custom which remain to be worked out in studies of individual restlessness, desire, fear, imagined values and exploits, energy, health, etc.

structed picture of his present or future self. This is done in grotesque forms among people who are psychologically abnormal, but it is apparent also in the everyday experiences of normal beings.* The point is that "constructive imagination" and affective experiences connected with them, provide a most significant channel for satisfaction of men's basic bio-psychological urges. More tangible behavior — play, labor, exploring, hoarding wealth, manipulating audiences or corporations, competition in games and business and sectarianism, accusations and self-justification supporting and praising one's group, claims of authority and morality — these also give expression to one's innate tendencies. In short, there is probably no field of physical or mental phenomena which is not connected with the

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*The student of human nature has always claimed in a general way that certain traits show themselves throughout conduct; when instinctive tendencies came to be discussed in modern psychology, the social scientist drew attention to *their* operation throughout conduct, even in behavior commonly regarded as remote from bio-psychological instincts. (Aside from discussions of "social forces" in sociology generally, see Thomas, "The Gaming Instinct," *Amer. Jour. of Sociol.*, VI (1900-1901), 750-763; also F.W. Taussig, *Inventors and Money Makers.*)

Modern psychopathology found that men in abnormal states of mind derived satisfaction from sheer illusions as to fame, wealth, and other coveted distinctions; the Freudians then professed to find sex impulses evading "resistances" and "censors" in the unconscious, and securing "indirect expression" through dreams, wit, slips of memory, primitive taboos and forms of social organization, etc.; and with the work of Adler, Jung, Kempf, McCurdy, and others there has come an appreciation of the way such urges as we have called self-regarding esteem and self-protection appear in activities as diverse as nervous complaints, authorship, religion, and the reading of sadistic descriptions of war. (Bernard Hart's *The Psychology of Insanity* is a simplified statement dealing with the first movement. As to Freudian psychoanalysis, Knight Dunlap, one of its severest critics, admits as "somewhat valuable" their conception— "wish-fulfillment" — of "the tendency in human nature to get by an indirect route the fulfillment of those desires which it cannot obtain in a more normal manner, or at least to obtain in thought, satisfactions which cannot be obtained in actuality." — *Mysticism, Freudianism, and Scientific Psychology*, 60-61. The best compilation from our point of view, of Hart's emphases, of Freudianism, and of modifications of their claims by other workers, is A. G. Tansley's *The New Psychology.*)

Meantime, writers on various aspects of human behavior took cognizance of these findings. (Mabel J. Reaney, *The Psychology of the Organized Group Game;* Edward S. Robinson, "The Compensatory Function of Make-Believe Play," *Psychological Review*, XXVII (1920), 429-439; C. W. Kimmins, *Children's Dreams*; Wilfred Trotter, *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War*; Clarence H. Hamilton, *A Psychological Interpretation of Mysticism*; etc.)

Now, the orthodox psychologist sees this "indirect expression" of instinctive tendencies in the whole gamut of every-day activities, sentiments, and beliefs, and even in the long-studied behavior of attention, perception, reasoning, and imagination. (R. S. Woodworth, *Psychology.*)

bio-psychological urges. That fact is fundamental to the rest of our discussion.

AID TOWARD IDENTIFYING URGES.—It need hardly be said that in the identification of the basic bio-psychological urges in verbal reactions, and in what may be called semi-overt and non-overt behavior, great caution must be exercised. It is an asset to this procedure that the chief stimulus-response reactions to tendencies outlined above, are being defined by experimental psychology and critical observation.* The presence of fear or rage, for instance, would be proof that certain protective mechanisms have been set off. Even such studies as those of Richardson are of undoubted value in showing the symptoms of situations which are certain to evoke specific bio-psychological tendencies.†

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*I have in mind investigations reported in John B. Watson's *Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist* in which a rigorously scientific method was employed. E. L. Thorndike's *Original Nature of Man* is very suggestive, though his method is not disclosed.

Studies upon the glands and their function in man may become valuable for this purpose. In the meantime psychoanalists in conjunction with neurologists are making observations on the rise of fear, anger, etc. For instance, White, in discussing war, says that "it is when such relatively stable and familiar situations are destroyed and we are projected into situations with which we are no longer familiar and which we cannot control, in short into the unknown, that we react with fear." Wm. A. White, *Thoughts of a Psychiatrist on the War and After*, 68.

†In summarizing data gathered by use of questionnaires, Richardson reports as follows on *the mental situation stimulating anger:*

"*Feelings of Irritation.* One of the characteristic mental situations from which anger arises is that connected with feelings of irritation. . . .

. . . . . .

"Feelings of irritation follow as a result of the thwarting of some desire or mental attitude and are consequently predetermined by the attitude of the moment. . . .

"Another characteristic of the feeling of irritation is its indefinite objective reference. It may not refer definitely to any object at first. . . .

"It is a common characteristic of the initial stage of anger, that although there is an awareness that the emotion is due to a series of irritating stimuli, the entire situation exciting the anger is ignored and the anger is referred to some person, frequently one recently associated in time. Thus objectified, anger seems to find a more ready expression. Anger is more successfully developed from a fore-period of irritation if the present predicament is in any way associated with a person or situation against which there is already an emotional disposition of dislike. A feeling of pleasurable satisfaction is often reported to follow the successful expression of anger after feelings of irritation.

". . . .When persons are involved in anger of this type, they are usually those with whom there is close intimacy or with servants and children.

. . . . . .

Objective Data and Bio-psychological Categories.—Neither exclusiveness nor finality is claimed for the urges, as remarked above. Aside from the appetites and the self-esteeming tendency, they indicate, roughly speaking, (i) how men act *of their own initiative*, regardless of others' attitudes; (ii) how they act *under provocation or attack;* (iii) how they are *affected by others' behavior* even when not molested and relatively passive. Mothering behavior in the presence of infants, was not included; "kindliness" or "tender emotion," on the one hand, and the tendency toward "disapproving" or "scornful behavior," on the other, were also unmentioned. Only those findings of psychology were employed which correspond to significant masses of data in the writer's hands, without calling for controversy or complicating our presentation. If this were an intensive localized study of Christian propaganda instead of an outline aimed at showing typical data and its analysis, this correspondence should be scrupulous: all relevant categories verified by representative specialists would probably be required, and yet no data that seemed significant would be left aside because of the lack of appropriate previous categories. As it is, we believe our data is representative so far as it goes, and the primary groupings

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"*Negative Self-feeling.* A second characteristic mental situation from which anger arises, is that connected with negative self-feeling; the self-feeling has been lowered and anger follows. In the observation of all the observers, it appears at times in the initial stage of anger. . . .In the description of this feeling, it appears in marked contrast to the anger that follows. . . .

"Unlike the feeling of irritation, negative self-feeling has a more definite reference to the outside situation and for the most part refers to persons. . . .

"Negative self-feeling appears rather suddenly without any definite conscious fore-period of its own. It is a state of consciousness predetermined by pleasureable feelings of self-regard. . . .Such evidences as we have, indicate that anger with a fore-period of negative self-feeling occurs most readily when the sentiment of self-regard is active, — on the days when the person is well-pleased with himself. . . .

"Any remark, suggestion, chance association, it may be, attitude of another or incident, which in any way lowers the sentiment of self-respect may stimulate anger. . . .

. . . . . .

"With all persons studied, there is evidence of a previously developed mental disposition against certain persons and against certain principles which allows the anger point to be reached in a short cut fashion. Anger is easily attained without the initial feeling either of irritation or lowered self-feeling. Anger that rises from this situation is usually pleasant in quality." Roy F. Richardson, *The Psychology and Pedagogy of Anger*, 13-26.

of our data are fundamentally justified and psychological so far as they go.

These Categories Applied to Groups.—For reasons which we cannot sketch now, our study applies these bio-psychological categories to group phenomena. It treats them as tendencies explaining group responses as well as individual phenomena.* This does not imply that there may not be socio-psychological or sociological imperatives outside of these. But until a definite body of such sociological tendencies, trends, or laws is accepted by critical thinkers in this field with something like the unanimity with which laws in natural sciences are accepted by specialists in those fields, — until then, common ground may be found in accepting elemental needs, wants, and urges such as we have proposed, and in aligning objective group responses with elaborations of these urges. For the time being, we concentrate on trying out this mode of analysis and interpretation.† The space devoted to non-approving responses in Chapters IV-VI prevents much more than a demonstration of its use (in Chapters VII and VIII) in treating them. It is tried out at greater length in the analysis of approving responses to propaganda in Chapters IX and X.**

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*See separate article referred to above. See also Thomas D. Eliot, "A Psychoanalytic Interpretation of Group Formation and Behavior." *Amer. Jour. of Sociol.*, XXVI (1920), 333-352; and Everett D. Martin, *The Behavior of Crowds*. We cannot now take up the so called "Group Fallacy in Relation to Social Science" (Floyd H. Allport in *Amer. Jour. of Sociol.*, XXIX (1923-4), 688-703). Bogardus' and Goldenweiser's succint criticisms of Allport's position (*Loc. cit.*, 703-706) are sufficient.

†For further qualifications of this statement, see 515d and ff.

**One point, elaborated in Appendix I, should be noted here regarding the relationship of the categories to instinctive urges, on the one hand, and to the objective responses, on the other: the categories may be looked upon as *designating an objective type of behavior*, yet they have arisen in the mind of an investigator who is also conscious of functional tendencies in behavior. They may be regarded as categories describing both habits and spontaneous behavior. Elaborate detailed analyses in terms of stimulus and response will probably take precedence of such categories as are presented in this study, when we have the time and technique to develop them; in the meantime, what we may call the "urge categories" should be critically selected and utilized, to the writer's mind.

FURTHER BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

1. Farquhar, 359.
2. In *Columbia University Lectures on Science, Philosophy, and Art*, see Boas, "Anthropology," 27. See also pp. 217-230 in Boas' *The Mind of Primitive Man*, from which excerpts were given in a previous footnote. As applied to religious experience, see James, (A), 436-437, 448, etc.
3. Judd, 240.
4. Tansley, chap. xiv.
5. Jennings, etc. 24.
6. Prince, chap. xv. "Instincts, Sentiments and Conflict."
7. Cary, (A), II, 70.

APPENDIX III: BIBLIOGRAPHY

SPECIAL TITLES RECOMMENDED

The reader who is out of touch with current psychology, sociology, anthropology; social psychology, and religious psychology; race study; contemporary culture contacts, and missions; might well begin his orientation in them with the following volumes:—

PSYCHOLOGY:— (i) Woodworth (B),* (ii) Tansley, (iii) Watson.

SOCIOLOGY:— (i) Park & Burgess.

ANTHROPOLOGY†:— (i) Marett (A), (ii) R. Lowie's *Primitive Society* (Huebsch), (iii) Goldenweiser.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY**:— Aside from Park & Burgess, [(i) Meade,] (ii) Cooley (A), (iii) Martin, Etc., Etc.

PSYCHOLOGY OF RELIGION††:— (i) James (A), (ii) E. S. Ames' *Psychology of Religious Experience* (Mifflin, 1910), (iii) G. A. Coe's *Psychology of Religion*, Etc. Group interactions nowhere treated with adequacy.

RACE:— (i) Thomas, "Race Psychology," (ii) Boas, (iii) Reuter, Etc.

CULTURE CONTACTS:— (i) Park & Miller, (ii) Thomas & Znaniecki, (iii) *The Negro in Chicago* (U. of Ch., 1923), (iv) A. H. Snow's *The Question of Aborigines* (Putman, 1921) (v) Woolf, (vi) Morse, (vii) Tyler Dennett's *Americans in Eastern Asia* (The Mac., 1922), Etc.

MISSIONS:— (i) E. C. Moore's *Spread of Christianity in the Modern World* (U. of Ch.), (ii) *World Atlas of Christian Missions*, (iii) *W. M. C.*, with *I. R. M.*, including bibliog., (iv) such studies as those of Farquhar, Warneck, Moody, Kato, Etc., and (v) such histories as Harnack, Robinson

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*B. C. Ewer's *Applied Psychology* (The Mac., 1923), just published might well be (ii); Goddard is a popular introduction. See also Robinson & Robinson's *Readings in General Psychology* (U. of Ch., 1923).

†Wissler's *Man and Culture* presents concepts; his *American Indian* is an excellent exemplification of current anthropological study.

**Bogardus' & Allport's books on social psychology just announced by the publishers may come first in importance.

††E. D. Martin's *Mystery of Religion*, just announced, should be very suggestive on the (social) psychology of religion.

[A], Cary, DuPlessis, Ritcher, Etc. Anti-missionary literature (e.g., *R. of Rel.*) should be examined.

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(The reference below include most of the books, magazines, and articles from which excerpts are made in this volume or in which principles may be examined further. Of course, other publications are continually referred to in these excerpts themselves.)

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***Abbreviations Used**

Allen: London—Geo. Allen & Unwin.
App.: New York, etc.—D. Appleton & Co.
Badger: Boston—Richard G. Badger.
Brown: Boston—Little, Brown, & Co.
C. I. M.: Philadelphia—China Inland Mission.
Dent: London—J. M. Dent & Sons.
Doran: New York—Geo. H. Doran Co.
Dutton: New York—E. P. Dutton & Co.
Harcourt: New York—Harcourt,Brace & Co.
Harper: New York, etc—Harper & Brothers.
Hodder: London—Hodder & Stoughton.
Holt: New York—Henry Holt & Co.
King: London—P. S. King (& Sons).
Knopf: New York—Alfred A. Knopf.
Long. or Longmans: London—Longmans, Green & Co.
Macmillan: London—Macmillan & Co.
Mead: New York—Dodd Mead & Co.
Mifflin: New York, etc.—Houghton Mifflin Co.
Morgan: London—Morgan and Scott, Ltd.
Oliphant: Edinburgh, etc.—Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier.
Paul: London—Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.
Putnam's: New York—G. P. Putnam's Sons.
R. T. S.: London—Religious Tract Society.
Rev. or Revell: New York, etc.—Fleming H. Revell & Co.
Scribner's: New York—Charles Scribner's Sons.
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*a, b, c, d, and e, respectively, immediately after a number, indicate successive fifths, approximately, on the page; e.g., 128c refers to about the middle of page 128. As usual, *f* stands for the first following page; *ff.* for the pages following; *ftn.* is used for footnote(s); "ref." after any cross-reference is to call particular attention to the cross references given after that one; e.g., "Code ref" is to call attention particularly to cross-references after "Code" as well as to references *on* Code itself. "Etc." suggests looking up other related topics.

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